

THE DAWN AL-FAJR

exp. 86/04
Serial Records Division
Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

JULY 12, 1985
VOL. VI, NO. 271

JERUSALEM PALESTINIAN WEEKLY
THE ONLY ENGLISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

16 PAGES
IS 600

Israel Closes Jerusalem's Hospice Hospital

The Israeli Health Ministry decided July 7 to close down the only hospital in Jerusalem's Old City, as of July 31 on the pretext that the hospital does not offer adequate health services. Arab residents, on the other hand, argue that the closure is politically motivated and aimed, through cutting services, at forcing Arabs to leave East Jerusalem.

Officials at the Israeli Health Ministry summoned Dr Ahmad Muhtadi, Director of Hospice Hospital, and handed him an official notification of the closure July 7. The order stated that no more patients should be admitted after July 20, and that as of August 1 the Hospice is to be converted into a 24-hour emergency clinic that will redirect patients to other hospitals.

Hospice, the only government-run hospital in East Jerusalem, renders services to nearly 150,000 Arab residents in Jerusalem and the surrounding area. The majority of its patients are poor and have no health insurance coverage. The Israelis have been trimming the hospital's budget and services in stages over the last several years. The ear, nose and throat section was closed in 1980 when the staff was cut down by 26 percent and

the number of beds reduced from 120 to 50. The budget was slashed 21 percent in 1983-84.

Dr Muhtadi denounced the closure and rejected Israeli claims. In a telephone conversation with *Al-Fajr*, Muhtadi blamed the Israeli Health Ministry for the low standards at the hospital and charged that the Israelis had deliberately cut the hospital budget over the years in order to establish a case for closing it down.

The ones who will be hit hardest by the closure are Jerusalem's Arab poor. There are over 70,000 residents in Jerusalem who don't have any health insurance, says Muhtadi and they will suffer a lot. The four sections of the hospital had provided an invaluable service to the population, he said. After the ear, nose, and throat section was closed the hospital was left with internal, general surgery, gynecology and obstetrics sections.

According to a study issued by the Hospice Friends Committee (a local Palestinian committee set up last year by Jerusalemites to fight the closure), demand for Hospice services has increased enormously during the past few months, even though there was an increase in the number of patients treated.



Jerusalem Hospice Hospital (Inset) Where will all these poor people go for medical care?

The number of operations performed increased by 33.6 percent in 1984 from the previous year and the number of deliveries by 30 percent.

The Hospice Friends Committee put up a fierce fight to keep the hospital open. They held several press conferences, contacted numerous Israeli officials, and drafted innovative proposals on alternative ways to run

the hospital.

Isma'il Tazli, head of the Hospice Friends Committee, said that representatives from the committee attended two sessions of the Knesset Committee on Social Welfare to discuss the case, at the request of MK Ora Namir (Labour), head of the Knesset Committee. They spoke out against the closure and expressed their view that the move is

politically motivated and that it is aimed at alienating all Arab-run public institutions which will eventually render Palestinians totally dependent on the Israeli health institutions. Minister of Health Mordechai Gur spoke in the session, and stated that the closure is not politically motivated, but rather based on health

Continued on page 13

Military Orders Arab Papers to Publish Government Notices

Israeli military authorities issued a new military order July 9 requiring all local Palestinian newspapers to publish official ads from the military governorate without any alterations. Arab newspaper owners rejected the order and decided to confront it.

The responsible editors of three Arabic dailies, Hanna Siniora of *Al-Fajr*, Mahmoud al-Khatib of *Al-Mithaq*, and Mahmoud Ya'ish of *Al-Sha'ab* were summoned to the West Bank military headquarters at Beit El, on July 9 to get their West Bank distribution permits renewed. *Al-Quds* newspaper already publishes military government notices, therefore its owner and publisher Mahmoud Abu Zuhuf was not summoned.

The Israeli interior officer,

Shlomo Ammar, handed the three editors six-month distribution permits, and copies of a military order in Hebrew requiring them to publish ads for the military governorate. The order, No. 1140, which was signed by the Israeli commander of the Central Region Amnon Shahak, stated that all newspapers are obliged to publish military governorate announcements free of charge without altering the texts. The order authorized the Israeli military commander of the West Bank to revoke the distribution permits if the papers fail to comply with the order.

Three years ago, the Israelis refused to renew distribution licenses for *Al-Fajr*, *Al-Mithaq* and *Al-Sha'ab* after they declined



Military Order 1140

to sign a statement allowing the Israelis to confiscate the papers from newsstands at any time.

Mahmoud Ya'ish, owner and publisher of *Al-Sha'ab*, and Hanna Siniora, responsible editor of *Al-Fajr*, agreed to "weigh the possibility" of challenging the order before the Israeli High Court. "We cannot publish Israeli military announcements, because this contradicts our papers' policy," Ya'ish told *Al-Fajr*. The veteran journalist explained that the papers "cannot adopt the official Israeli version of their oppressive actions against Palestinian residents."

Likewise, Mahmoud al-Khatib, owner and publisher of the tabloid *Al-Mithaq* daily, rejected the order as arbitrary. Al-Khatib compared the order to

Military Order 854 which greatly restricts academic freedom at local universities and pledged to confront it. He said he wants to coordinate plans with the owners of other newspapers.

The order was also condemned by the Arab Journalists Association (AJA), which described it as "another attack against the freedom of the press and the basic principles of individual freedom." In a letter addressed to the head of the International Union of Journalists and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, AJA head Radwan Abu Ayash condemned the order and called on both officials to help Palestinian journalists under occupation to fight it.

ROOTS OF
ANTI-AMERICAN
VIOLENCE

Page 5

FOREIGN CHURCHES AND
LOCAL CHRISTIANS

Page 7

UN REPORT ON
PALESTINIAN WOMEN

Page 9

PALESTINIAN POTTER
WITH PROMISE

Page 11

SHATILA PICKS
UP PIECES

Page 16

Guilty on Most Charges

Trial of Jewish Terrorists Ends

The 14-month-long trial of the Gush Emunim terrorist underground, one of the longest and most controversial trials in the history of Israel, has come to an end. On Wednesday July 10, Jerusalem District Court Judges Bazak, Cohen and Finkleman found the 15 defendants guilty of most of the charges brought against them. Sentences will be passed next week.

Menachem Livni, Shaul Nir, and Uzi Sharbat - The perpetrators of the shooting spree at Hebron Islamic University were found guilty of premeditated murder and will be sentenced to life imprisonment next week. Eleven of the defendants were acquitted of attempted murder for planting bombs in cars belonging to three West Bank mayors in 1980, but found guilty of causing grievous harm; they can thus receive up to 20 years in prison. Ten defendants were found guilty of conspiring to blow up the Dome of the Rock Mosque. Six of the defendants were found guilty of belonging to a terrorist organization and six others were convicted of aiding a terrorist organization.

Shaul Nir, Uzi Sharbat, Menachem Livni, and Barak Nir were convicted of planting bombs in five East Jerusalem buses and may be sentenced to up to 20 years in jail on that count alone.

Many of the suspects were also found guilty of illegal possession of arms and vandalizing Israeli army property.

The court ruling, covering 40 pages, stated that "at dawn on Friday April 27, 1984, five explosive devices, set to go off at 4:30 pm, were discovered on five [East Jerusalem] buses. The objective of the operation: an attack on the Arab population.... Four years prior to this date, Yehuda Etzion began to consider the necessity of purifying the Temple Mount of the Islamic presence there, a mission, he believed, that should have been carried out by the state immedi-

ately following the 1967 war. When the [government] did not act, Etzion said in his testimony, he realized that the state of Israel was not interested in achieving redemption... and thus the plan to blow up the Temple Mount was born" (HaAretz, July 11, 1985).

The judges ruled that the history of the Gush Emunim terrorist underground could be divided into two periods. The first revolved around the conspiracy to blow up the Dome of the Rock and the attack on the members of the National Guidance Committee, and was characterized by Etzion's messianic programme to "initiate a redemptive movement which would lead the country to its true objectives... The plan to blow up the Dome of the Rock established a human infrastructure for the attacks on the mayors." The second period covered all the other attacks (on the Hebron University, the East Jerusalem buses, etc).

The trial, which began 14 months ago, was catapulted to its conclusion when the suspects refused to testify in their defence following the May 20 prisoner-exchange between the PFLP-GC and Israel. Over the past year, the demand that they be granted a presidential pardon has steadily been gaining ground. The Knesset lobby on behalf of such a move, which last year only included Kach and Tehiya, now encompasses the entire Israeli right-religious camp.

Many of the suspects originally included in the charge sheet against the underground have plea-bargained their way to reduced charges.

The 15 defendants convicted July 10 will be sentenced next week. However, given the support they have received from a sector of the Israeli public it seems doubtful that they will have to serve their entire prison terms. (Translation: HaAretz, Al Hamishmar, July 11, 1985.)

Weapons Cache Found in Settlement

Three Kach supporters, all settlers from Eliezer settlement on the Bethlehem-Hebron road in the West Bank were detained July 7 on charges of possessing a large quantity of weapons. The three are suspected of supplying a fourth settler, Tovi Vertheim, who was detained earlier on July 5, with ammunition, the Hebrew press reported last week.

Vertheim, a security officer in the settlement and an active Kach member, was arrested on Friday night after Israeli police discovered a weapons cache in his possession. The weapons, which included grenades, explosives and ammunition, had been stolen from Israeli army depots.

Reports indicated that the detained were interrogated about

whether they had planned to commit attacks against Arab residents. Kach leaflets were also found in their possession, in addition to hand grenades and other materials.

The latest detentions came at a time when Israeli courts are still trying several members of the Jewish terrorist group on charges of attacking Arab targets in the occupied territories. The terrorists on trial are charged with attacking the Islamic University in Hebron and planting explosives in the cars of three West Bank mayors in 1980. Two of them, Bassam Shaka's of Nablus and the late Karim Khalaf of Ramallah, were seriously wounded and maimed. (See above story.)



A Surif woman stands on the rubble of her house which was demolished by Israeli bulldozers last week.

Army Bulldozes 2 Surif Homes

Two Arab houses were demolished and a third sealed off in Surif village in the Hebron area July 9, on the pretext that members of the family took part in the murder of two Israeli lovers two weeks ago.

A curfew was imposed on the village during the operation and a number of youths were arrested. An Israeli army spokesperson claimed that two Surif residents had confessed to killing two Israelis in a wood near Beit Shemesh settlement, west of Jerusalem June 27. The spokesperson claimed the two villagers be-

longed to a Palestinian cell arrested recently. According to the Hebrew daily *Hadashot*, the two youths did not belong to any Palestinian organization. Their names were not allowed to be published.

A curfew was enforced on the village of Surif (pop. 6000) as Israeli soldiers manning bulldozers demolished the two houses. The third house was blocked off with concrete. According to some reports, several village youths were arrested when they tried to block the house demolition. The curfew was lifted

in the afternoon of the same day.

The bodies of Meir Ben Yair and Mechal Cohen were discovered two weeks ago. The two had been carrying on a longstanding love affair although both were married and had two children each. Police authorities were investigating the possibility that romantic motives were behind the killing. Cohen's husband was detained and released later. The two were killed with two different guns, which were reportedly found in the arrested youths' possession.

6 Children Among the Dead

Israel Raids Tripoli Camps

The casualty toll among civilians in the northern Lebanese city of Tripoli rose sharply July 10 as warplanes attacked the city's two refugee camps killing 22 people and wounding 87. Sporadic clashes between rival pro-Syrian and Sunni militias in Tripoli left 20 dead and 50 wounded since they began July 8. In south Lebanon meanwhile, two suicide bomb operations took place on the border of the 'security zone' July 9, leaving 17 dead and 10 wounded.

News agencies reported that three Israeli warplanes backed by two helicopter gunships attacked the Nahr al-Bared and Baddawi camps in Tripoli, home to more than 25,000 Palestinian refugees starting a major pipeline fire and demolishing several houses. Israeli military officials said the attack, the first on Tripoli in over a year, was "a continuation of Israeli policy to hit 'terrorist' organizations so as to keep them off balance and

prevent attacks against Israel." They said the attacks were directed at three guerrilla bases, two belonging to Fatah separatist Abu Mousa and one to Ahmad Jibril's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command. The officials denied that there was any connection between the suicide bombings the previous day and the Israeli air raid.

Hospital and police sources in Tripoli told news reporters, however, that most of the dead and wounded were civilians. The dead included six children aged 8 to 12 and an 18-year-old woman, the sources said.

The Israeli warplanes were met with some resistance from the militias of the Arab Democratic Party and the Islamic Unification Party, which have been fighting one another since July 10. Confronting the Israeli attack caused them to cease fire for a few hours after which they continued sniping away at each other

and competing for control of Tripoli. The fighting originally started when the Sunni Islamic Unification Party rejected an invitation by Syrian officials to attend a meeting of Lebanese Muslim leaders in Damascus.

Meanwhile in south Lebanon, resistance attacks on Israeli and SLA units escalated. Two soldiers of the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army (SLA) were killed and seven wounded July 10 when a Palestinian unit attacked an SLA convoy near Sidon. Two suicide bomb attacks within five minutes of each other in the western Bekaa region killed 17 Lebanese civilians and SLA soldiers and wounded 10 others, 3 of whom were Israeli soldiers. The suicide attacks carried out by Syrian born Khaled Azrak, 20, and Lebanese woman Ibtisam Harb, 22, were later claimed by the National Socialist Syrian Party. A videotaped testimony of the two conducted before the attack was aired on Lebanese and Syrian television.

Vandals Sabotage AlFajr Offices

Unidentified vandals broke into the offices of *Al Fajr* Arabic daily on the morning of July 8 and destroyed expensive machines, furniture and doors in the building.

The vandalism was discovered at about 4:30 am by *Al Fajr* employees who start work early in the morning to arrange the distribution of the paper. Majdi al-Majed, the paper's business manager, said they were shocked when they found the main door wide open, locks on the desks, drawers and closets broken and the files dumped out and scattered all over the floor. The second floor, which houses the editorial offices, was also vandalised in the same manner.

The intruders apparently used a crowbar to force open the doors, which smashed at least four wooden doors beyond repair. They bent the lock latch and shattered the glass window of a fifth metal door. The locks and drawers of eight desks were destroyed. The vandals apparently searched every file, drawer, and closet in the offices of the editorial staff, the responsible editor and the editor of the monthly literary magazine, *Al Fajr al-Adabi*. They also dealt several heavy blows to the telex machine with the crowbar, breaking its keyboard.

Nothing was reported missing, a fact which suggests that the vandalism was intended as a threat or an act of terror more than anything else.

Israeli settlers have repeatedly threatened to launch attacks against Arab newspapers. These threats escalated following the May 20 prisoner exchange between Israel and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, in which 1150 Palestinian prisoners were traded for three Israeli soldiers taken captive in the summer of 1982 during Israel's invasion of Lebanon. When 600 of the released prisoners elected to stay in Israel and the occupied territories, the settlers initiated a campaign of terror aimed at driving the freed prisoners out of the country. One of the measures they reportedly decided upon was to attack local newspapers for the moral support they gave to the freed prisoners.

Ishaq al-Qawasm, who dis-



The morning after: After breaking into desks and files, the vandals dumped their contents out on the floor. /AO

tributes the paper to various parts of the occupied territories was one of the three people to discover the vandalism. He said they first feared that the intruders might have planted bombs or other explosives in the building before leaving. They immediately summoned the police who arrived shortly afterwards, checked the place and made a preliminary investigation. A special police fingerprints expert arrived at 10:00 am for further investigation. *Al Fajr* employees were also summoned to police headquarters in West Jerusalem to give their assessment of the damages and aid the police in their investigation.

Al Fajr Arabic daily issued a statement in Arabic and English the same day denouncing the

vandalism as an act committed by "criminals who are the same enemies who try to silence our Palestinian people and its independent, nationalist voice."

The Arab Journalists Association condemned the vandalism as "a criminal act." Radwan Abu Ayyash, head of the Arab Journalists Association, said the attack on *Al Fajr* is part of a larger campaign to liquidate the Palestinian people, and to abort its aspirations for independence.

Likewise, Palestinian nationalist figures condemned the sabotage as an attempt to undermine national unity. Basam Shaka'a, the elected mayor of Nablus, warned that the break-in was intended to stir internal dispute among Palestinians. Hilmi Hannoun, mayor of Tulkarm and chairman of the board of trustees of *Al Fajr* agreed with Shaka'a.

Two other local Arabic newspapers, *Al Sha'ab* and *Al Mithaq*, published front page stories describing the attack and condemning it. The third, *Al Quds*, gave the break-in a small news item on an inside page.

Al Fajr offices have been attacked several times in the past, including two bombings and several raids and arson attempts. A Jewish settler was indicted last year for throwing a fire bomb at the paper's editorial office in 1983. The paper also received many threat letters from Jewish extremists and from members of the Israeli-backed Village Leagues.

To Stop Union Meeting

Police Close Hakawati 24 Hours, Arrest 3

Israeli border guards, police, and secret service men (Shin Bet) beat up and arrested three Palestinian men at the Nuzha al-Hakawati theatre in Jerusalem July 5 during a sit-in to protest the military closure of the theatre for a day. The Israeli military commander of the central region, Amnon Shahak, issued an order July 4 closing the theatre for 24 hours for unspecified "security" reasons. Sources close to the theatre speculated that the theatre was closed because a general Workers Unity Bloc conference was scheduled to be held there the same day.

The sit-in protest coincided with a provocative raid by Israeli border guards who arrived in three jeeps. Radi Shehadeh, one of the administrators of the theatre troupe, told *Al Fajr* that as early as 8:00 am the police and border guards closed down the entrances leading to the theatre, parked three vehicles in the theatre's foreground, and told all who were present to leave. When Shehadeh tried to explain that they were staying on in an unrestricted area, the border guards threatened to use force to evict them. Most of the nearly 50 protesters were members of either the Workers Unity Bloc or the Israeli Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit University.

Soon after, the guards tried to push the protesters out of the theatre courtyard.

Two youths attempted to flee. Eyewitnesses reported that soldiers caught up with one of the two youths near the Jerusalem district court, pulled him inside and beat him severely. "They kicked, slapped and punched the poor man indiscriminately," an eyewitness said. The soldiers then shoved him into a military jeep and took him away.

The protesters finally dispersed on their own in the afternoon.

Hakawati officials condemned the closure order as "unjustified." A spokesman for the theatre told *Al Fajr* the closure disrupted three activities which were scheduled to start on the same day. These included the opening of an art exhibit, a play by a local group, and the Workers' Unity Bloc conference.

The Workers' Unity Bloc, which succeeded in convening its conference two days later, issued a strong statement denouncing the interference with their conference. "Such measures hamper the activities of unions," the statement said. MK Tawfiq Toubi from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) criticised the closure of al-Hakawati theatre as "a violation of democratic freedom."

Unionist Gets Town Arrest

Israeli military authorities placed unionist Mahmoud Labadi, 30, under town arrest July 4, on the pretext that he "acted on behalf of the PLO." Labadi, who is a member of the central committee of the Workers Unity Bloc in the occupied territories, will be confined to the town of Abu Dis for the next six months.

Amnon Shahak, the Israeli commander of the Central Region, (the West Bank) issued the order which accused Labadi of "activity on behalf of the PLO." The Hebrew military order, with an Arabic translation, informed Labadi that he was not allowed to leave Abu Dis without prior permission. It also required Labadi to notify Israeli authorities in the Bethlehem area about his place of residence, and to sign his name once a week at the Bethlehem police station.

Labadi, who has a 15-month-old daughter, resided and worked in al-Bireh prior to the town arrest. He said the order had messed up his private life because he has now been compelled to move from al-Bireh to his parents' house in Abu Dis. Meanwhile, his wife and daughter continue to live in their al-Bireh house. Labadi said that he will



lose his job as a result of the order. He works as an electrician for a housing cooperative in al-Bireh.

Immediately after he received the town arrest order, July 4, Labadi filed a petition with the Israeli military governorate at Beit El requesting that the town restriction be transferred to al-Bireh. He has not yet received an answer.

Labadi asserted that the restriction was aimed at curbing his union activities. "How do you explain that the order was handed to me one day before the general conference of the Workers Unity Bloc, which was scheduled to be held at the Nuzha al-Hakawati theatre in Jerusalem July 5?" (The Israelis closed the theatre the day of the conference - see separate story).

AL FAJR - Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: ONE YEAR: US\$50.00

NAME

ADDRESS

ENCLOSED IS A CHEQUE FOR THE AMOUNT

DATE

SIGNED

Mail to:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
PO Box 19315
East Jerusalem
Via Israel

In US:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
2025 Eye St. NW, Suite 925
Washington DC, 20006 USA



Hassan Bek Mosque before the collapse of its minaret

Hassan Bek Mosque Under Assault

A masked attacker tossed two Israeli-made hand grenades at Hassan Bek Mosque in Jaffa on the morning of July 7. Arab youths in the vicinity chased the man, but he disappeared in the neighbouring Jewish quarter carrying a third grenade which he apparently had no time to use.

Items of clothing and a bag containing the third grenade were found in a nearby yard. Israel TV reported that a Jewish youth was later arrested in the same neighbourhood in connection with the attack.

One day earlier, a Hebrew-speaking youth approached the mosque guard and threatened that if renovations on the mosque continued, worshippers would be slaughtered in the mosque.

A similar attack on the mosque occurred two weeks ago, when an unidentified assailant threw petrol bombs at the mosque. Last week the guard, an Arab from the occupied territories, narrowly escaped an assassination attempt when someone drove straight at him and tried to run him over with a car. The police did not arrest anyone

in connection with either incident, and failed to take the necessary measures to protect the mosque.

Police believe that the incidents are related, particularly the two most recent attacks, and that they are aimed at halting the renovation of the mosque, started last year.

Hassan Bek Mosque was built early in the century. After 1948 the mosque, located in what became a Jewish area, was among vast Muslim waqf properties seized by the Israelis. Over time, due to neglect, the building deteriorated. The roof eroded in the 1960s and two years ago the mosque minaret collapsed, provoking Arab residents to pressure for renovations. Last year the Israelis announced that funds had been allocated for renovations, but the first stage of renovations ground to a halt a few months ago, allegedly due to lack of funds.

Muslim residents of Jaffa have been urging the government to hand over custody of the mosque to the Islamic waqf committee so it can supervise renovations.

Hassan Bek's sheikh, Abu Zeid told *Al Fajr* that two weeks ago the Israelis showed a preliminary readiness to hand over the mosque, which has long been considered "state property," to a local Islamic waqf committee. The day after the grenade attack, it was announced by Minister without Portfolio Ezer Weizman's office that the mosque would be handed over to the local waqf committee, and that official notification of the decision would be communicated to the waqf July 12.

Jaffa Muslims held a mass gathering in the Islamic club July 7, the day of the grenade attack, and decided unanimously to form a popular committee to oversee and speed up renovations. Nine members were chosen from four different local institutions headed by mosque sheikh Bassam Abu Zeid.

"The attack on July 7 is a terrorist act," said the sheikh. "It is aimed at halting the renovation and exposing the walls of the mosque to danger. But nothing will stop us from protecting it and it will be renovated despite all obstacles," he emphasised.

In Wake of Molotov Army Puts Barbed Wire Net on Private Roof

Israeli military authorities spread a net of barbed wire over the roof of Abed Rabu Abu Nusseir's Dheisheh camp home June 18 on the pretext that youths had hurled molotov cocktails at Israeli soldiers from the rooftop on the same night.

No one was home at the one-storey house, which is located on the main Bethlehem-Hebron road, when the soldiers put up the barbed wire. Homeowner Abu Nusseir, 40, learned of it only the next day from his neighbours. When he tried to inquire about the measure at the Bethlehem military governorate he was threatened with sealing off his house. He was also ordered to make the barbed wire to a

height of two metres so that the roof would not be used again for molotov attacks. Abu Nusseir denounced the measure, saying it is not his duty to prevent such attacks.

A similar incident occurred nearly nine months ago, he said, when a fire bomb was hurled at an Israeli car in front of the house. One Israeli was injured and troops fired a hail of bullets back at the house. Abu Nusseir was praying at the time inside the house, his wife said, and he was nearly killed. The bullets inflicted substantial damage to the house interior and the windows.

As a result of the increasing harassment Abu Nusseir, a refugee from Beit Jibrin village in

the Hebron region, and father of six, decided to build a small house on a piece of land he owns across the street from the camp. "I will continue to be a Dheisheh camp dweller," he asserts, "I am a resident of the camp and I'm proud of it."

The Israeli authorities have taken many similar measures against private homes or public schools in the past. Last year, they covered the roof of Qalandiya Girls Secondary School with a net of barbed wire. The UNRWA-run Vocational Training Centre across the street was also cordoned off last year with a high fence to prevent stone throwing or molotov cocktail attacks. Similar measures were taken at schools in Dheisheh and al-Birah.

Court Postpones Farraj Hearing

At the request of an Israeli military prosecutor, an Israeli military court in Ramallah postponed hearing the case against journalist Hamdi Farraj from Dheisheh refugee camp July 9 until August 14. Farraj's lawyers believe that the postponement was intended to prolong Farraj's detention as much as possible, in case he is acquitted from the charges against him.

Farraj, who is now being held at the Hebron prison, was arrested on February 1, in the aftermath of attacks by Israeli-backed agents against nationalists in the camp. Clashes developed between nationalists and Israeli collaborators. The Israelis

rounded up 25 people from the camp February 1, including Farraj. Most of the others have since been released without trial. Farraj was transferred between Fara's and Tulkarm detention centres, and finally to Hebron prison. The Israeli military authorities issued a charge sheet against him two months ago, accusing him of incitement and participation in Molotov cocktail attacks against Israeli traffic on the road passing in front of the camp. Farraj's lawyers Usama Odeh and Mohammed Na'amneh then described the charges as "serious," but said that police have no evidence to back them up. Farraj has denied all the charges.

Settlers Convert Mosque to Synagogue

Jewish settlers recently converted an abandoned West Bank mosque in the village of Sanur near Jenin into a synagogue, the Hebrew daily *HaAretz* reported. Islamic waqf officials denied the report.

Gush Emunim settlers living in the area decided to convert the mosque into a synagogue after Rabbi Meir Eitan, representative of the north West Bank rabbinate, ruled that it was not in contravention of Jewish religious law, the paper said.

HaAretz disclosed that the settlers received contributions from various religious settlements and organisations to convert the mosque.

Islamic waqf officials in Jerusalem told *Al Fajr* they believe the mosque which the Israeli media referred to belonged to a Jordanian army base near the village of Sanur, which was turned over to a settlement a few years ago. The official said they have no jurisdiction over this property.

Abna'a al-Balad Leader Town Arrested in Shafa'amr

Alli Samniyya, 36, one of the leading Abna'a al-Balad activists, received his fourth, consecutive town arrest order July 4 restricting him to his home town of Shafa Amr in the Galilee for six months. According to the order, he may not leave his home between sunset and sunrise, and must report to the nearest police station twice a day to prove that he has not left the town.

No reason was given for the town arrest. The order only mentioned "security reasons" for the town arrest. These orders are usually based on the British Mandate Emergency Regulations of 1945, which were wholly incorporated into Israeli law after the establishment of Israel in 1948. Samniyya, who had found a job in Haifa as a print shop worker last summer shortly after the third town arrest was lifted, will now lose his job. He is not married, but he is responsible for his aging parents. In 1979 he was released from prison after serving nine years on "security" charges. Since then the town arrests have made it difficult for him to rehabilitate himself and help his family.

At least one other Abna'a al-Balad activist is under town arrest. Several other members of

the Palestinian movement, which advocates national independence for the Palestinian nation, have been placed under other kinds of restrictions, including travel restrictions.

In a related development the Israeli authorities issued another town arrest order July 6 against Ghassan As'ad, member of the Bir Zeit University student council, restricting him to his home town of Jenin for six months as of July 5. As'ad, who is the second Bir Zeit student council member to be put under town arrest, was ordered to report daily to the local police station.

Mawzan al-Barghouti, head of the Bir Zeit student council, was released July 7 after serving a 40-day sentence on charges of violating town arrest.

The Israelis have been placing many student activists under town arrest recently, apparently as part of a new policy that seeks to "control" student activism without closing down universities. At least ten Najah University students have been placed under town arrest or barred from entering campus during the past three months. Town arrests have also been stepped up on other activists.

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 amar il
Washington: 64677 amar uw

Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nair, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630) is published weekly for \$50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead, N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

The 'Invisible' Victims

The impact of Israel's new austerity economic programme on Palestinians in the occupied territories is of little concern to the Israeli public. Israelis are preoccupied by negotiations between the government and the Histadrut and the question of whether the latter will be able to control Israeli workers or whether wildcat strikes will paralyse the country. But a brief look at the facts shows that Palestinians in the occupied territories bereft of all the various benefits that cushion the Israeli worker, now face an intolerable situation that will soon spark widespread unrest and riots.

Palestinians in the territories are the hardest hit by the programme for the following reasons.

First, there is absolutely no one defending Palestinian labourers. Israelis have the Histadrut Labour Federation and an extensive network of unions in addition to consumer protection agencies and representatives in the Knesset. But any attempt by Palestinians in the territories to organise labour unions, no matter how feeble, is immediately nipped in the bud by efficient Israeli watchdogs — whether by putting leading unionists under town arrest, or by forcing cancellations of workers' conferences, or by raiding union offices. Add to that the divisions which since 1980 have split the few Palestinian unions that do exist, and the end result is total ineffectiveness. In Gaza unions have not been allowed to add members since 1976.

Second, Palestinians do not enjoy any of the benefits their Israeli counterparts do. They have no unemployment compensation, no automatic health insurance, no rights to "professional learning funds", paid vacation and sick days, no large family compensations and no retirement funds. But they do pay the same steep taxes.

Third, salaries of Palestinian workers, already lower than those of their Israeli counterparts, are further eroded by the double currency system in the West Bank. Workers are paid in shekels, but many prices are set in dinars. Each time the rate of the dinar changes due to devaluations or market fluctuations, prices effectively go up — but salaries do not.

Fourth, the few outside sources of aid that used to reach Palestinians in the West Bank have all but disappeared. The elected municipalities that used to recruit funds for services have been dissolved and replaced by Israel. The "steadfastness funds" that the Joint Committee in Amman used to send have dwindled to naught, thanks to the erosion of Arab contributions, mismanagement, and corruption.

Fifth, the new economic measures follow in the footsteps of astronomical tax hikes on Palestinians in the occupied territories, proudly heralded by the authorities themselves in the annual report of the "Civil Administration," which boasted that income tax in the territories increased 39 percent in real terms. These increases, coupled with oppressive tax collection policies, have recently prompted the head of the Nablus Chamber of Commerce to resign in protest.

Palestinians in the occupied territories, the shadow backbone of the Israeli economy, will not remain invisible much longer. It is only a question of time before they take to the streets in revolt. The situation has become intolerable.

The Roots of Anti-American Violence



President Reagan: A biased Middle East policy

by Daoud Kuttab

The Reagan Administration is angry. As soon as the TWA hijack crisis came to an end, the US announced a new "get tough policy with terrorism." As part of this policy, the US is officially boycotting Beirut airport (although no American planes flew to Beirut before the hijacking), banned Lebanon's Middle East Airlines from landing at American airports, reportedly offered a reward of US\$5 million for information leading to the identification, arrest and extradition of the TWA hijacker who killed a US Navy man.

President Reagan is not satisfied with all this. He is asking all of America's allies to boycott Lebanon's international airport as well. Britain has already agreed, and there is reason to believe that other European countries will also follow suit.

Crying Wolf

Reagan's angry steps are not part of a well thought-out policy but rather the simple result of chaotic US foreign policy. Instead of seeking to understand why anti-American attacks are on the increase around the world, the US is self-righteously crying that it is the victim of "international terrorism." Throughout the hijacking and earlier, when the US Embassy and the Marine headquarters in Beirut were bombed in 1983 and various Americans were kidnapped, no US official showed any sign of understanding that these acts were responses to what is here perceived as a biased US Middle East policy. This policy was never reassessed, and as a result American officials have been put on the defensive, scrambling to deal with one crisis after another.

With each new crisis, the American voice becomes louder and louder blaming "terrorism" and looking for newer and more sophisticated ways to combat this new threat to America. A more constructive reaction might be to analyse the roots that underlie this new wave of anti-Americanism in the Middle East. Such an endeavour should not be construed as support for acts like the TWA hijack. Rather, it is an attempt to explain the root causes of such actions.

Reagan's call for the extradition of the hijackers and his slogan that the "terrorists" should be brought to justice sounds awfully strange in the Middle East. What "justice" is Reagan talking about? In 1982 when the Israeli army invaded Lebanon and left thousands dead and injured, we never heard the US calling for Israeli officials to be brought to justice. When thousands of innocent Palestinians and Lebanese were slaughtered or made homeless no American official asked the government to boycott Israel or pressured any countries to do

so. We can go back further to the hundreds of Israeli air raids on Palestinian refugee camps, the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981, or the invasion of south Lebanon in 1978 — or to any number of raids, reprisals, and instances of indiscriminate assaults on harmless civilians.

Americans might answer that Americans were not hurt in these cases. A look at the record shows that Israeli soldiers killed two Lebanese crew men who worked for the American CBS television. And back in 1967, the Israeli navy sunk the US navy ship Liberty despite clear signs that the ship was American.

Policy is at the Roots

American policy in the Middle East has been significantly biased towards Israel ever since its creation in 1948. US vetoes of UN Security Council resolutions have prevented the international community from placing commercial restrictions on Israel. The arms and ammunition the US sells — and frequently gives — to Israel have been the backbone of Israeli military strength, making that tiny country the fourth strongest in the world. Strict US conditions that the weapons be used for defensive purposes only have repeatedly been violated, and the violation ignored. US satellites supplied Israel with strategic information on Egyptian and Syrian military movements during times of tension.

In Lebanon, the US applauded the Israeli invasion in 1982 and stood by passively while the Israeli military machine rampaged up to Beirut. When Israel arrested hundreds of Lebanese citizens and transferred them to jails on Israeli soil in clear violation of international law, the US barely issued verbal condemnations. No US or other Western officials threatened Israel with sanctions when it illegally transferred these Lebanese POWs. Even today, some three weeks after the end of the TWA hijack episode, Israel continues to hold some 300 Lebanese POWs illegally. We don't hear of any US National Security Council session on ways to overcome Israel's illegal detention of Lebanese citizens.

For Palestinians, the US record of misdeeds and unjust policies is very long. In addition to the fact that thousands of Israeli military actions were carried out with US weapons and blessings, the US has never been fair to Palestinians politically.

Reagan like his predecessor has refused to recognise or meet with the PLO. The Palestinians' right to self-determination in their own state has also been rejected by the world's leading "democratic country that upholds freedom and liberty." Even the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights which the US considers contrary to international law have simply drawn mild, routine statements, that were not backed up by action. Financially the billions of US dollars given to Israel are matched with a few million dollars to Palestinians in the occupied territories.

US aid has increased since 1982 despite the Israelis' clear rejection of the Reagan plan. No country in the world has been similarly rewarded after rejecting the donor country's political initiative.

The point is that the US should not spend its time investigating whether the people who hijacked the TWA plane were moderates or extremists, whether they belonged to Amal or Hizballah, whether Greek airport security is lax or whether boycotting Beirut airport will prevent new hijackings. What American officials and the American people should know is that unless the US reassesses its biased foreign policy in the Middle East, Central America and elsewhere in the world, violent and unpleasant actions against Americans will continue regardless of boycotts and security precautions. Because regrettably, individual acts of violence are the only way weak and oppressed parties can register their displeasure with a superpower — and be heard.



STEVE SALERNO

Non-Violence for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories?

by Frank Collins

To propose nonviolent action for the Middle East may seem naive, given the bloody history and the continuing daily toll of death, injury, and wanton destruction in the region. Yet it may serve as the way to resolve the bitter Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Palestinian resistance to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza has, in fact, been nonviolent for the most part, despite the stone-throwing confrontations and sporadic incidents of armed violence that grab headline attention. Now the concept of total reliance on nonviolence, though virtually unreported so far in the United States, is beginning to attract interest and support even within the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

Last fall, I attended the Palestinian National Council meeting in Amman, Jordan, and followed up with numerous discussions in the West Bank, Jerusalem, Gaza, Cairo, Damascus, and Tunis. I came away from these talks with the strong impression that there is growing willingness among Palestinians, Egyptians, Syrians, and Jordanians to explore the potential of nonviolent action.

To be sure, official PLO pronouncements continue to stress "armed struggle" against Israel, and in the organisation's current debilitated and divided state any move toward embracing nonviolence would face formidable obstacles. But the leadership clearly has doubts about perpetuating the violent course of conduct it has been pursuing for decades without significant success.

The American peace movement, much of which has been sympathetic to the case of the Palestinian people, could render an important service by encouraging a PLO policy of nonviolence. To do so would be neither arrogant nor interventionist. Virtually every party to

the Middle East conflict, including the PLO, acknowledges that the United States will have to play a key role in any settlement. But before Washington could be induced to take a constructive stance, public attitudes in this country would have to undergo a significant change — the kind of change that would be fostered by a PLO renunciation of violence.

The November 1984 meeting of the Palestinian National Council reflected a dramatic shift in PLO strategy. On the platform sat King Hussein of Jordan, who fourteen years ago ordered the brutal expulsion of the PLO from his country. Egypt, an outcast in the Arab world since it signed the Camp David accords, was officially unrepresented but clearly visible in the background.

Yasir Arafat's PLO, having been devastated on the battlefield, was obviously manoeuvring toward a diplomatic solution that would entail an accommodation of some sort with both Israel and the United States. Alignment with Jordan and Egypt, the two Arab nations least "confrontational" toward Israel and most friendly to the United States, was an indispensable part of that process.

But despite this historic shift in the Palestinian strategy, no corresponding change in tactics was adopted. Instead the conference rang with the familiar calls for armed struggle against Israel.

To most Palestinians, armed resistance to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza is as fully justified as was the American colonists' resistance to the British army of occupation during the Revolutionary War. Those Palestinians and other Arabs who are now examining the possibilities of nonviolent action are not questioning the legitimacy of armed struggle but its efficacy in

advancing the Palestinian cause. They believe that nonviolence may, at this point, prove more productive.

I found support for this idea among Palestinians who live in the occupied territories as well as among those scattered in the Palestinian diaspora, among the rank and file as well as among those in PLO leadership positions, among Arafat loyalists as well as among PLO dissidents in Syria. Adoption of nonviolent tactics may have more backing than diplomatic moves unaccompanied by a change in tactics.

While Americans (not to mention Israelis) may greet with scepticism such an emerging consensus for nonviolence, the repeated failures of violence make nonviolence an attractive option. The recurring wars between Israel and the neighbouring Arab nations since the Jewish state came into being in 1948 have not had comforting consequences for the Arabs, and there is little likelihood that the Arabs would initiate new hostilities on behalf of Palestinian self-determination. The Arab states can be expected to continue furnishing funds, weapons, hospitality, and political support, but when it comes to armed struggle, the Palestinians are on their own.

The PLO's guerrilla war against Israel has succeeded since 1967 in raising the self-consciousness of the Palestinian people and rallying them to the cause of Palestinian nationhood, but it has yielded

no great victories in the fight for self-determination. Israeli counterinsurgency measures in the occupied territories have successfully stifled most guerrilla activity. Infiltration of arms and fighters across the borders from Lebanon and Jordan has been brought to a virtual halt.

Frustrated by military setbacks, the Palestinians have also faced a steady deterioration of their socio-economic position in the occupied territories. More than 50 percent of the land in the West Bank and Gaza has already passed from Palestinian to Israeli ownership and control, and the process of land confiscation continues on an almost daily basis. Though inhibited by pressures on the strained Israeli economy, the process of building Jewish settlements in the occupied territories continues. The settlers make increasing demands on the scarce water resources in the West Bank; though Israelis constitute only 3 percent of the population, they consume 30 percent of the water.

Israeli authorities have routinely blocked development of Palestinian economic enterprises that could promote self-sufficiency. In effect, the government is integrating the territories into the Israeli economy — primarily as a source of cheap labour. The economically submerged Palestinians experience

Continued on page 13

LETTER

To the Editor:

The Kurdistan Survival Network is an organisation of Kurds born in various occupation nations. We have all experienced some sort of oppression from reactionary central governments in the Middle East, as have the majority of the Kurdish people.

The majority of Kurds have taken great inspiration from the Palestinian people, and from their organ of common unity, the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

The Palestinian people and the Kurdish people have much in common regarding our basic struggles. [We of the Kurdistan Survival Network support the PLO's efforts wholeheartedly.]

We were further reassured of our absolute support of the PLO upon reading the bigoted letter submitted to *Al Fajr* by Bernard Brodsky (US), which appeared in your paper on June 7, 1985. We Kurds also experience this type of prejudice and narrow-mindedness and narrow-nationalism from individuals who wish to distract from the liberation of Kurdish people. It has always been apparent to us that the Zionists in the US have been so indoctrinated that it is difficult for them to fathom any semblance of truth. They continuously use the tragedy of the holocaust to further develop within themselves (and mislead the Jewish population) a very sick "psyche" in regards to Palestinian people, and to the Arabs in general. This is evident in Brodsky's remark that all Arabs look upon Jews as being "sub-human." The masses in the Middle East do not look upon Jews as being anything "lesser," but do view Zionism as a disease — a disease that was well-calculated by reactionary elements who desired expansionism (to extend Jews

into an area where they were never a majority, Palestine), and a disease that has robbed the Palestinian people of their natural birthright and identity. The majority populations in the Middle East view Zionism as uncivilised, for proper cause!

Further, the populations in the Middle East do not view Jews as their enemy, as Brodsky stated; rather, we all view Zionism as the enemy, because Zionism is a representation of the evils of bigotry and racism.

Brodsky seems to indicate that the Palestinian people never "elected" the PLO as their sole representative. I would like to point out to Brodsky that the PLO is the Palestinian people, the same as the *Pishmergas* are the Kurdish people! It is the Palestinian people that make up the great ranks of the PLO, and the PLO's universal effort to reclaim stolen land, stolen aspirations, stolen culture, and stolen identity.

Brodsky should have done better in his attempt at education (in reference to his proclamation that Arabs should read their history books). It would open his mind to the realities of the world, he would see that he has limited himself to a narrow perspective, partly his own fault, and partly the fault of the disastrous educational system in the US, which gives no acknowledgement to the rich heritage of the Palestinian and Kurdish people.

We understand well why you published Brodsky's letter. Believe us, such constant reaffirmations of the evils of Zionism inspire all progressive minds to fight against this disease, Zionism, even further!

Khadife F. Ashrafi, Director
The Kurdistan Survival Network
Seattle, Washington
USA

Following is an excerpt from a speech given to a group of Protestant bishops and ministers at the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer presented on February, 1985.

There is an important aspect of life in the Holy Land which often seems invisible to the clergy and theologians of foreign churches working here or involved here in theological debates. In the midst of programmes focused on the unification of Christianity, seminars and institutes dedicated to Christian-Jewish rapprochement, and even efforts to provide theological foundations for fraternal exchanges between all three religions of the Book, one is struck by the curious fact that none of the Christian "peacemakers" appears aware of the existence of a war raging around them. The war I refer to is, of course, that between the Palestinian people and the State of Israel. I would like to suggest that the Christian churches represented in the Holy Land, particularly the Protestant churches, must engage in a substantial re-evaluation of projects and priorities in order to avoid proving their irresponsibility to primary Christian values of compassion, love and understanding.

Central to the issue here being discussed is the fate of one group, a small group within one of the two sides of this war — the Palestinian Christians. This group, largely unperceived by the rest of the Christian world, is the testing ground of the international Christian community. The churches' attitudes towards and activities for or against this group will test their abilities to link universalist ethical precepts with particular needful communities; here will be shown whether or not humanistic theology can manifest itself in humane practice. On a more pragmatic level, this community's fate — a fate which in large part rests in your hands — will determine what role, if any, the foreign churches will play in the future Holy Land.

The first test, that which examines the churches' abilities to translate ethical theory into moral practice, can probably be passed or failed without attracting any notice outside of the communities directly involved; it is a matter for the consciences of those who act, or fail to act, to help these people. If it here fails to oppose injustice the church will slip quietly and inexorably further into irrelevance.

The second test, on the other hand, will be much more visible in its consequences. If the Palestinian Christian community is destroyed through dispersion or spiritual dissolution the Christian churches will be left with no role to play in their Holy Land other than that of providing "authentic" caretakers for the touristic museums the holy places will become when bereft of local worshippers. If, against the odds, Palestinian Christians manage to halt emigration and strengthen themselves through consolidation with Islamic Palestinians under a national umbrella, an unsympathetic and unavailing international Christianity will similarly find itself with no pastoral role to play. The withdrawal of Palestinian Christian energies from allegiance to foreign-based churches and their reinvestment in the nationalist struggle will leave the foreign churches with much the same role as the first option left them. Furthermore, should this withdrawal lead to a successful nationalist revolution there is little chance of good relations between a Palestinian state forged against the latent or overt resistance of foreign churches and the representatives of those churches. The religious landscape of a future Palestinian state is difficult if not impossible to map at this time, but it seems unlikely that much space will be given up to



Time for Churches to Link Up With Palestinian Christians

by Glen Bowman

foreign churches with records like those held at present.

The probable futures for foreign churches unsympathetic to the needs of the local Christian populations are all unpalatable, and can be briefly summarised as either custodians of a holy land which is no more than a touristic show place or exiles from a land where a nationalist version of Christianity has replaced the universalist form. Neither option is desirable, and each is avoidable. By taking an active part in the struggle of Palestinian Christians for recognition and amelioration of their situation, the foreign churches will be able to maintain their roles as mediators between indigenous and pilgrim Christians, improve the stressful relationship here between clergy and congregation, and, perhaps, by strengthening the Palestinian position help to bring about just negotiations for the creation of a democratic, religiously tolerant state where Christian-Jewish-Muslim rapprochement is visible on the ground in daily life as well as in symposia, in theological discourse and debate.

The approach sure to lead to the disengagement of the foreign churches from any meaningful role in this land is the easy one. All you need to do is to go along with the Israeli propaganda war against Christian and Muslim Palestinians.

The other approach — which will improve the position of the local communities as well as legitimise the continued presence of foreign churches — is a much more difficult route. It calls for demythologising the presentation of Israel so that this land no longer appears as an Edenic fulfilment of God's promises to his chosen people but instead as a real place in real time where three major religions struggle to coexist on ground held sacred by all three. Such a presentation involves showing more than the monuments to Christianity's past role in this land. It necessitates preparing visitors before arrival for what they will see

(religious, social and political lives of Christians, Jews and Muslims), introducing them while in the land to contemporary Christian communities whose roots in this sacred soil go as deep as the Christian church's, and working with the pilgrims after departure to help them organise their perceptions and place them within a coherent socio-historical framework. It also involves dedication to the wider task of letting the world outside the borders of this land know of the existence and character of the invisible populations of the Holy Land and of their situations. Such work, of course, is dangerous. It is work which will concretely be opposed by the Israeli government, its ministries, and the worldwide network of Zionist and pro-Zionist organisations. It is also eminently humane work, and the only work which will be regarded as such by Palestinian Christians.

Current perceptions of the foreign clergy by indigenous Christians have been generated by a number of forces — some historical, some contemporary. However the special nature of the Holy Land, a terrain sanctified by the Bible and three millennia of its devotees' worshippings, lies at the heart of them. The existence of the Christian holy sites and of the monuments that clutter about them like limpets gives the land its salience to pilgrim Christians. For native Christians, on the other hand, the continued presence of a body of Christian worshippers living in the land, whether or not in close association with these sites, is what defines the experience of the Holy Land. There is a substantial difference between the two perceptions — the one site-centred and the other community-centred — and in that difference is the source of much of the failure of the foreign churches to succour their Palestinian brethren. Pilgrims who come here to "walk in the footsteps of Christ" are more interested in the ephemeral accretions of 2000 years of history in order to "see" original traces than in

regarding and appreciating the contemporary results of His original trail-blazing.

This is the passive side of the touristic rejection of local Christian communities. The active side, that manifested by the wide spectrum of so-called "Christian Zionists," shares similar roots. One solution for the Christian Zionists particularly evident at this year's Feast of the Tabernacles is to ignore the presence of the local Christian communities and present all Palestinians as Muslims — enemies of God and His Chosen People. Apocalyptic terminology translates into immediate local activity through Christian Zionist support for fascist organisations like the Temple Foundation and for other religio-political groups on the far right of the Israeli spectrum. Fundamentalist Christian intervention in the Israeli political scene attempts to force the government further into violence and intolerance by funding fanatical Zionist groups here and lobbying for increased military funding for Israel in the sect's home countries. Interestingly, at the centre of the Christian Zionist movement is a group of Christians who believe the Messiah will not return until another group of Christians is destroyed or driven out of the land.

This is the most visible face of foreign Christianity in this land. The Khan el-Zeit, the Via Dolorosa, Christian Quarter Road, and even the parvis of the Holy Sepulchre are filled with Christian tourists wearing Stars of David and buttons pronouncing "Israel We Love You Because God Loves You." The anti-Palestinian feeling that underlies these assertions of solidarity with Israel has immediate, visible and damaging effects. The shopkeepers who have depended since the days of Constantine and Helena on pilgrim trade bemoan a steady decline in income from tourists and pilgrims caused in large part by the tendency of many Christians to believe guides and self-appointed Israeli interlocutors when told not to buy from "Arabs" because "they are all thieves" or because "all their money goes to the PLO." To remain quiet in the face of such injustice is to partake in that injustice.

Palestinian Christians cannot forgive the failure to resist the propaganda war being waged against them because they, and their Muslim neighbours, see the collusion or acquiescence of the churches as a continuation of a war that foreign Christians have long waged against the peoples of this land. Foreign Christianity has given local Christianity very little reason to trust it. It has, furthermore, put local Christians in danger from the large sea of Muslims which encompasses them. There is always the possibility that, should some particularly odious American or western European action against the Arabs occur, Islamic fundamentalists or opportunists will foment a massacre of indigenous Christians by proclaiming them as a Fifth Column of Western imperialism. For reasons I will mention below I believe the danger of this is not serious, but its possibility is ever kept in the consciousness of local Christians by the presence here of the communities of Armenian and Syrian Christians which straggled into Jerusalem from the terrible massacres enacted in Turkey between 1914 and 1920. Were such pogroms to occur, there is little chance that the foreign clergy or the holy places they oversee would fare even as well as the local Christians.

The reaction of many Palestinian Christians (and many Christians in other Middle Eastern lands) to the problem of being alienated from their Islamic neighbours by ties to foreign churches which

Continued on page 15



Askar camp in Nablus: 20 percent of West Bank and Gaza Palestinians live in housing units with a density of 3 persons to a room./UNRWA photo.

Below we excerpt the report of the UN Secretary-General entitled, 'The Situation of Women and Children Living in the Occupied Arab Territories and Other Occupied Territories'. The report was prepared in October 1984 for distribution at the UN International Conference on Women in Nairobi, Kenya to be held July 15-26, 1985.

The situation of women and children living in the occupied Arab territories has been the subject of increasing international concern since the beginning of the United Nations Decade for Women. At the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City in 1975, special attention was drawn to the specific needs of Palestinian women and children and measures to assist them.

Subsequently, the General Assembly... requested that "a study should be prepared in 1981 by the Commission on the Status of Women on the situation of women and children living under the racist minority regimes in southern Africa, especially under the apartheid regime, and of women and children, living in the occupied Arab territories and other occupied territories."

The General Assembly, in its resolution 38/108 of 16 December 1983, considered that the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, within the framework of Item 7 of the provisional agenda proposed by the Commission at its first session as the preparatory body for the Conference, should pay particular attention to the problems of women in Territories under racist colonial rule and in Territories

Political, Labour, Health Handicaps Cited

UN Documents Hardships Facing Palestinian Women

the Arab occupied territories, prepared by United Nations bodies.

Background Information

Since the Palestinian population has been dispersed all over the world, it is difficult to know exactly how many Palestinians there are altogether: estimates range from 3.6 million to 4.2 million for 1980. In 1981, the total population of the West Bank, with a land area of 5500 square kilometres, was 707,300 and that of the Gaza Strip, with an area of 367 square kilometres, was 451,600. Some 50 percent of the people living on the West Bank are refugees registered with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and 85 percent of those living in the Gaza Strip are refugees.

Detailed information on the structure of the population in the occupied territories by sex and age is given in table (1)....

The high male emigration rate resulted in a decline in the male population in the age brackets 30-44 years and 45-64 years and created a ratio of 80 males to 100 females. Since 1980, emigration has increased particularly for males aged 14-25 years. This increase further affects the demographic structure of the population, contributes to the growing number of dependences per wage earner and lowers the rates of labour-force participation.

Political Matters

The policy of the occupying Power uniformly affects men, women, youth and children as members of society... Despite countless resolutions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and other United Nations organs, emphasising the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and the right of self-determination, calling for a cessation of the construction of settlements in the occupied territories (see, for example, General Assembly resolution 38/79 C of 15 December 1983), the Government of Israel has been promulgating since 7 June 1967 a series of decrees, by which it has established a military administration for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The military administration has also reinstated the Defence Emergency Laws of 1945, issued by the British Mandatory Government. These Laws enable the occupying Power to confiscate Arab lands and to prevent residents from returning to their villages and towns to claim their property. These Laws and practices seriously affect the economic situation and living conditions of Palestinian families, often separating women and children from the male family members. The new income tax introduced by Israeli authorities in Gaza and on the West Bank early in 1983, based on an estimate of all the property of Palestinian residents, including jewellery, furniture and the property of any sons, outside as well as in the territories, further diminished the living standard of many Palestinian families.

People in the occupied territories are subject to two different judicial and local government systems. Civil law applies to the Israeli citizens; military law applies to Palestinians, their towns and villages, and is based on military administration and military orders, violations of which are tried by military courts and cannot be appealed against....

On land and settlements: the fertile land is divided into small segments, rendering large-scale agricultural development difficult and restricting the sovereignty of the Arabs over their own land. All these factors have specifically negative effects on Palestinian women, for whom the family farm is a traditional source of livelihood and stability. The declining prospects for Palestinian farms seriously affect not only the economic status of women but also their social position and psychological well-being. Losing a farm sometimes leads to separation of the family. According to UNRWA statistics for 1983 on registered Palestinian refugees, in the West Bank there were 27,226 female heads of household out of a total of 72,272 and in the Gaza Strip 14,567 out of a total of 75,296, a situation that creates many difficulties, since the majority of Palestinian women have not been prepared to live independently and to take decisions concerning every-day family life.

On oppressive Israeli practices: Under the Defence Emergency Laws, activated on 7 June 1967, arrest, detention and other forms of oppression have

continued to be applied to the Palestinian population: men, women and children alike....

In the period 1980-1984, restrictions on the population in the occupied territories increased, resulting in the dismissal of most of the elected municipal officials and the dissolution of the National Guidance Committee, which supervised socio-educational activity, some of its members, including female social activists, having been placed under house arrest. The restrictions caused further unrest, strikes in the municipalities and disruptions in the schools, involving the death of a few school-children in the Gaza Strip. The military authorities have imposed curfews in some camps and villages and restrictions on travel for selected residents. Palestinians have been also subjected to frequent security checks. Punitive demolition of the houses of those suspected or convicted of offences is continuing at an accelerated rate. In addition, the occupying authorities are carrying out a new punitive measure consisting in sealing houses or rooms with concrete. These forms of collective punishment affect equally all members of the family.

In 1983/84, residents of camps on the West Bank have suffered further serious hardships as a result of the blocking of camp entrances with bricks and cement by the Israeli authorities. In the Gaza Strip, 73 private rooms in Beach camp, owned by 35 Palestine families comprising over 200 persons, were demolished on the grounds that they contravened building regulations. The report of the Commissioner-General of UNRWA to the General Assembly at its 39th session provides further details. Furthermore, as a punitive measure in retaliation against families for acts said to have been committed by one or other of their members, the Israeli authorities demolished the housing of 12 refugee families in the Gaza Strip, resulting in 94 persons losing their homes. On the West Bank, two refugee shelters were



Blocked entrance in Jazzen: Hardships suffered as a result of blocking camp entrances/BA photo.

demolished and several rooms in refugee shelters sealed.

Imprisonment and torture of Palestinian children on the West Bank and Gaza continues and inevitably affects not only the direct victims of these practices but also a whole new generation growing up under conditions of occupation.

Social Matters

Employment and working conditions: Since 1967, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as occupied territories, have registered a decline in their agricultural and economic development and the occupying Power has gradually incorporated their economy into that of Israel. These two factors, coupled with the never-ending expropriation of Palestinian lands and control of water resources by Israeli authorities, has led to a number of changes in the labour market that affect the economic status of women and change the existing pattern of women's employment.

In the period 1980-1984, Palestinian women from the occupied territories worked mainly in three categories of employment: as self-employed workers, as unskilled wage-workers in Israel and as employees in enterprises set up by Israelis in the occupied territories. The participation of women in the total labour force in 1980 was 18.7 percent for the West Bank and 6.1 percent for the Gaza Strip.

(a) Self-employment: Self-employment, particularly through ownership of land, is still the most common form of women's work. Nearly two-thirds of the female labour force on the West Bank, estimated at about 16,200, is self-employed. Approximately 90 percent of the women are engaged in agriculture and mainly work on small family farms. It is estimated that nearly 45 percent of the total agricultural workforce on the West Bank is female. The rest of the self-employed women work in small industries, on tasks such as sewing and embroidery.

The reverse situation is found in the Gaza Strip, where only 8 percent of the self-employed women are working in agriculture and two thirds are engaged in manufacturing. The fact that most of the Gaza Strip families are landless reduces the possibilities of work for women in traditional areas and results in a much lower participation of women in the labour force in the Gaza Strip than on the West Bank.

(b) Work for wages: Owing to a shortage of unskilled labourers, Israel began to employ Palestinians, including Palestinian women, from the occupied territories in 1968. The flow of labour from the West Bank by 1981 reached 74,000 persons recruited through official channels. The actual number of Palestinians working in Israel is, however, much larger and covers those employed unofficially, often including women and children working in seasonal agriculture.

(c) Work in Israeli enterprises: In addition to being employed as migrant and agricultural workers, many women are employed in enterprises set up by Israelis in the occupied territories, which specialise in finishing goods imported from Israel. This is a prevalent practice in the garment industry. The wages received there are up to 50 percent lower than wages for equivalent work in Israel. The comparative reluctance of women to move away has enabled entrepreneurs to depress the price of local female labour.

(d) Working conditions: The majority of the Palestinian workers employed in Israel and in Israeli enterprises in the occupied territories work at the lower levels of the employment struc-



Three generations of Palestinians living away from their original homes/UNRWA photo.

ture, in jobs that are mostly manual, unskilled and poorly paid. They have no job security and are employed on short-term work permits, which means that they are not entitled to unemployment benefits, compensation for illness etc.

Education: The public educational system in the occupied territories covers elementary, preparatory and secondary education provided by private, government schools run by UNRWA in conjunction with the United Nations Economic and Social Organisation (UNESCO)....

(a) Pre-school education: According to Israeli statistics, there were 13,988 children in kindergartens in 1981. Most of those children attended kindergartens sponsored by private institutions and Palestinian community organisations, although UNRWA operated 16 pre-school centres funded by the American Friends Service Committee in the Gaza Strip. A serious shortage of this type of service is particularly felt by women who for financial reasons must work and have no place to leave their children.

(b) Elementary, preparatory, secondary and higher education: In the period 1980-1984, there was a steady increase in overall enrolment, as well as in female enrolment at all levels of education. Male enrolment is higher at the preparatory and secondary levels, but women nevertheless perform better in the secondary examination of *tawfihi*. In 1981, of 13,489 students who completed secondary education, 4,688 (34 percent of the total) were females. At the university level, female enrolment represents more than 40 percent of the

total. This could be due to the high male drop-out rate in the 13-16 year age-group as a result of the need to work and to assist the family, and to the emigration or detention of the male youth....

(c) Vocational Training: There are four types of vocational training institutions on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip providing technical training to Palestinians, only two of which, the UNRWA/UNESCO training centres and the private training centres, have large numbers of women trainees....

Health: According to the report of the Special Committee of Experts Appointed to Study the Health Conditions of the Inhabitants of the Occupied Territories, submitted to the 27th World Health Assembly, health conditions in the occupied territories cannot be separated from the general socio-economic framework and its repercussions on the community and on individual men, women and children, manifested, for example, by the deterioration of mental well-being and an increase of mental diseases, particularly neuroses. The health conditions of the Arab population in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and the health system itself have remained unchanged. The management of the health programmes and budget is the task of Israeli authorities. The improvements that have been made in the health services are far from being adequate to meet the needs of a growing population and to reflect the advances in medical science. As noted by the World Health Organisation (WHO) Spe-

Continued on page 15

Table 1.

West Bank and Gaza Strip: Population by sex and age, 1981

Age	% Females	% Males	% of Total
0-14	43.2	48.0	45.6
15-29	28.4	30.2	29.3
30-44	14.3	9.6	11.9
45-64	11.3	9.2	10.3
65 +	2.8	3.0	2.9

Source: See "The situation of women and children living under racist minority regimes and in the occupied Arab Territories and other occupied territories: Report of the Secretary-General" (E/CN. 6/1984/10.)

Table No. 3
West Bank and Gaza Strip: distribution of female labour force, 1980.

Occupation	West Bank		Gaza Strip	
	(thousands)	%	(thousands)	%
Professional, technical, academic	3.6	14.7	2.3	47.0
Administrators, managers	0.1	0.4	—	—
Clerical	0.7	2.9	0.1	2.0
Sales	0.5	2.0	0.2	4.1
Services	1.0	4.1	0.3	6.1
Agricultural	15.7	64.1	0.5	10.2
Skilled occupations in industry	2.5	10.2	1.4	28.6
Others occupations in industry and unskilled occupations	0.4	1.6	—	—
Total	24.5	100	4.9	100

Source: See TEAM/SP/1/WP. 8.



Demonstrators hitting Israeli border patrol: The burden of the plan fell on the shoulders of salaried employees.

Economic Shock Therapy

by Michael Lowry

After weeks of anticipation, Israel's national unity government unveiled its "emergency stabilisation programme" on July 1, sending shockwaves throughout the country. Blatantly anti-labour, the programme is being implemented by way of draconian emergency regulations in order to circumvent existing laws and labour agreements. In the words of Minister without Portfolio Yigal Hurwitz, it is a matter of "forfeiting a little democracy in exchange for economic health" — "health" being understood as rising profits for Israeli industrialists.

The first stage of the programme has already gone into effect: the Israeli shekel has been devalued by 18.8 percent and the exchange rate has been fixed at IS1500 = US\$1; prices have been raised across the board by approximately 25 percent and subsidies on basic commodities have been cut, driving up the price of transportation, electricity, water, etc., by between 45 and 100 percent; prices and wages have been frozen for the next three months; and the government has decided to cut its budget by US\$750 million.

In effect, the measures decided upon by the government in the course of its marathon June 30 — July 1 cabinet meeting will push salaries down by as much as 30 percent according to the estimates of the Histadrut Labour Federation. Moreover, 10,000 employees in the public sector will be laid off in the coming month and all public employees will be forced to accept a three percent cut in wages.

Aside from cutting basic subsidies, the government has also cut back on its health, education and social security expenditures and has levied taxes on old age pensions, professional learning funds and meals heretofore provided free to workers at their place of work.

Intimidating the Workers

The government's programme was enthusiastically received by the Israeli Industrialists' Association, for whom it appears to have been tailor-made. Indeed, the main burden of the government's plan to stabilise the economy has fallen on the shoulders of the salaried employees, whose real wages have already been eroded over the past few months.

Speaking on television on July 1, Peres called on the public to roll up their sleeves and pull the Israeli economy out of the mud, making it seem that by accepting a drop in their living standards so that the rich could become richer, they were performing a patriotic service to the state.

One of the most frequently heard criticisms of the programme is that the burden was not equally distributed between rich and poor and that, rather than tax the capital gains of the industrialists, the government came down on the salaried employees.

The Response of the Histadrut

The government's economic programme was severely attacked by the Histadrut Labour Federation which called a general strike on July 2, bringing the country to a near standstill for 24 hours. Speaking in the Knesset that same evening, Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar lashed out at the programme and the emergency regulations being used to implement it, saying that it was "a black day for the Israeli labour movement." In a bid to mollify Histadrut opposition to the programme, Prime Minister Peres agreed to meet with Histadrut leaders the next day — if they agreed to refrain from taking industrial action. The meeting took place but nothing appears to have come out of their talks and it is unlikely that the government will back down.

The Histadrut, one of the most docile trade union movements in the world, is now faced with the choice of either knuckling in to government pressure or opposing the programme tooth and nail. If it chooses the former course, the rank and file membership of the federation may rebel and go out on wildcat strikes, led by local trade union activists whose allegiance to the Knesset Labour Party is not as strong as that of the Histadrut leadership. Moreover, local activists could be sure to get the support of Mapam, the Citizens' Rights Movement, and the Communist Party.

If the Histadrut decides to oppose the programme, it will make a clash between the Knesset Labour Party faction and the Histadrut Labour Party faction unavoidable. Following the success of the Labour Party in the recent Histadrut elections, there have been reports that the federation's Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar has greatly improved his standing in the party to the point where he has replaced Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin as the number one contender for Peres's crown.

Guns or Butter

One of the most striking aspects of the emergency economic programme is the paltry sum being cut from the defence budget. It is well known that military expenditure eats up between 40-50 percent of the government budget, a fact which puts a good deal of the responsibility for the inflationary situation in the country on the shoulders of the Defence Ministry. However, it would appear that the defence establishment held fast, withstanding pressure to decrease its spending by more than US\$50 million. This appears to have been accomplished with a little help from its friends in the US State Department. According to *The Jerusalem Post's* economic editor, Meir Merhav, when Secretary of State George Shultz got wind that Peres intended to drastically reduce military spending, he was shocked. (*Jerusalem Post*, June 29, 1985.)

Treasury officials agree that it will be nearly impossible to establish whether or not the sum slated to be cut from the defence budget will actually be cut, given the sprawling nature of military spending. Likewise, the government has not cut back on the monies being funnelled into the settlements in the occupied territories, preferring instead to cut child allowances, old age pensions and subsidies on basic commodities. Israeli school children will have to go to school in shifts next year, owing to the government's freeze on the building of new schools, but the annexation of "Judea, Samaria" and the Gaza Strip will not slow down.

US Response

The day after the announcement of the programme, the US Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, Allen Wallis, enthusiastically congratulated the Israeli government for adopting measures to the liking of the Reagan Administration. Given the crackpot nature of the programme, there is room to speculate that a deal was worked out between the Israeli government and Washington, whereby the US agreed to underwrite Israel's economic recovery in a year's time in exchange for leaving the Israeli defence budget relatively untouched. Given Reagan's distaste for Likud politicians and the recent improvement of Israeli-American relations — as evidenced by Reagan's July 3 "Dear Shimon" letter — such a deal could no doubt bolster Peres's chances of ousting the Likud from power and make him more susceptible to the gamble the

programme entails.

The Populist Card

Aside from the Histadrut and the left-wing opposition, the most vociferous critic of the economic programme has been Minister of Housing David Levy. Self-styled "Leader" of the Sephardi masses and Benigine clone, Levy has been voicing his fears that the Labour Party intends to renege on the rotation agreement by manipulating Likud out of the national unity government via the economic programme. Although the majority of Likud cabinet ministers voted against the programme when it was presented to them on Sunday night, save for Levy, they all voted in favour of the government in a no-confidence vote held in the Knesset on July 2.

Levy stayed away from the Knesset that day and concentrated on whipping up public resentment, obstreperously putting himself on the side of the underclass which has been hard hit by the government's latest economic measures. However, given the present constellation of forces, Levy faces tough opposition in his bid to catapult himself into the leadership of the Likud, both from his own party and from the brewing opposition on the other side of the fence, namely, the Histadrut and the left-wing opposition.

Unemployment

Peres has been reiterating his argument that the government was driven to adopt the emergency programme in order to avoid unemployment, but with 10,000 public employees about to lose their jobs and Israel's "financial seers" making a bleak economic forecast, this appears to be pure demagoguery. Moreover, by attempting to push living standards back to the level of the late 1970s by reducing consumption (and hence, rolling back inflation), a drop in demand on the market cannot fail to precipitate mass lay-offs as factories close down because no one can afford to buy their wares. Likewise, it remains to be seen how the government can promote economic growth — the goal of the emergency programme — without resorting to inflationary practices which drive up the demand for consumer goods.

Force of Circumstance or Crackpot Reaganomics?

The national unity government has done everything in its power to foster the idea that the emergency economic programme was dictated by necessity, given the country's precarious economic situation. Now, while it is true that Israel's economy is in poor shape, the notion that the programme unveiled on July 1, was the only possible alternative is simply untrue. The fact is that the Peres government, with the backing of the crackpot practitioners of Reaganomics, has decided that rather than tax the rich and cut the defence budget, the working population should be forced into agreeing to work more for less pay. No wonder the industrialists greeted the programme with such kudos — they'll be raking in the profits.

All the same, it seems unlikely that the Histadrut and the Israeli working class, docile as they may be, will allow the government to dismantle the welfare state. At present, the Israeli government is not powerful enough to completely extinguish public opposition to such a move. In the meantime, Peres seems prepared to gamble on US emergency aid, which, he hopes, will artificially bolster the economy and secure an electoral victory for the Labour Party and Shimon Peres.



by Baher al-Ashhab

Issam Badr

Palestinian Potter With Promise

Hebron artist Issam Badr held a week-long exhibit in the National Hotel entitled "A Study in Palestinian Ceramics." It included over 50 ceramic sculpture and pottery pieces and over 30 acrylic and oil paintings on canvas. According to Badr the ceramics and pottery are the culmination of fifteen years of research and three years of workshop practice. The 37-year-old artist said his aim was to be able to incorporate various international styles and techniques to produce work that is distinctly Palestinian which will set a precedent for a new style of pottery and ceramics.

Badr, who obtained a BA in drawing from the Fine Arts Academy in Baghdad in 1973 and an MA in Pottery from the USSR in 1982, may have succeeded. His pieces were unlike any shown before in the occupied territories and, judging by the relative success of the exhibit, Badr's work may be with us for a long time.

The most unique aspects of Badr's pottery and ceramics were the colours and textures produced by his method of firing and glazing. Unlike most pottery artists, Badr experimented with various types of commercial paints, oxides and other chemicals to produce earthy brown, deep black and shiny white seldom used in glazing pottery.

Badr produces his pottery with a special process that involves several stages. He first moulds the piece on the potter's wheel, outlines geometrical shapes on their outer surface, and fires them in the kiln. He then glazes the pieces with his special recipe and fires them a second time. Finally, he glazes



Palestinian Set - Ceramics

water jug had several beads of various colours around it, a style used in Islamic Iraq and Syria.

Badr uses only local clay for his work, backing up his claim that the production is pure Palestinian. He has his own workshop in Ramallah. Student volunteers from Bir Zeit University work with him, because he has a heart condition that he said has slowed him down. This exhibit of pottery and ceramics was his first in the occupied territories. He had exhibited in Jordan and the USSR in 1982 and the great reception his work received in those countries encouraged him to exhibit at home, he said.

Badr's ceramic sculptures were distinctively his own, similar in style and colour to his paintings. Unlike the pottery pieces, the ceramics were not efforts to imitate previous styles or historic concepts. They were freely sculpted and fit right in as pieces of contemporary Palestinian art. The topics Badr used for his sculpture were the all too familiar "prison, freedom, Jerusalem," themes either drawn or implicitly outlined on the mostly hollow ball shaped sculptures. Badr's unique method of mixing paint and chemicals left its impact on those pieces as well, with rusty bronze or brownish steel colours that make the viewer stop and wonder what material they are actually made of.

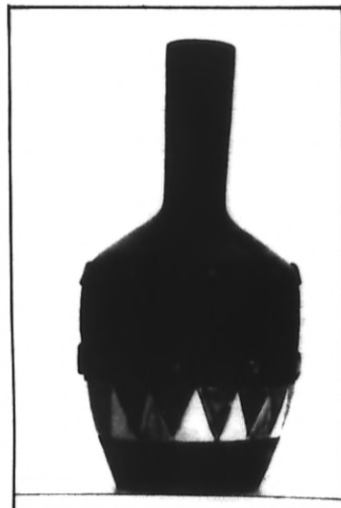
In his paintings, Badr moves from cubism to impressionism to surrealism to realism, evidence of the state of adolescent confusion that dominates the relatively new Palestinian art movement. Badr, however, showed great ability to convey his message in all these styles, but most of all in the impressionist landscapes of Ramallah and Jerusalem. Green is a predominant colour in his

paintings, producing a local effect which reflects the importance of green fields and olive groves in Palestinian heritage.

Badr admitted that his fine arts professor advised him to concentrate on ceramics and sculpture rather than painting. Unlike his highly refined pottery and ceramics, his paintings lack uniformity of colour and the expert manip-

ulation of shades. Muddy patches of heavy blue, black and white, meant to produce dimensional variety and depth, tend to have the opposite effect.

Badr's next project is to reconstruct ancient Islamic sculpture found in Palestine and to research and record the technique and various styles utilized in Palestine since the time of Islam.



A Study in Palestinian Ceramics



Badr

the smaller parts and fires the pieces a third time to produce a colourful end result. Even during the three stages of firing he increases or decreases the amount of glaze to produce various shades and thicknesses on the same surface, a procedure many other artists may find too tedious and time consuming.

The shapes of the pieces were incorporated from Islamic, North African and modern styles. Despite the elaborate firing technique and the unique colours, the simplistic shapes were somewhat repetitive and unvaried. Several pieces had cracks and peeling or overlapping glaze, indicating slight imperfections in otherwise aesthetically appealing work.

Several pieces stood out in particular. A water jug glazed black with geometrical shapes on one side that resembled the embroidery on a village dress in blue, red, white and orange was quite striking. Another black glazed



Waiting - Acrylic on Canvas

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The Israeli austerity economic plan and its expected impact on Palestinians living in the occupied territories was the focus of all local papers.

Newspapers reported on the Israeli government's economic decisions and discussions between various Israeli government and non-governmental bodies. The Histadrut called a general strike and the various demonstrations that followed also received front-page coverage with many photos of demonstrators.

Other reports covered by the local press included the situation in Lebanon, the eight-point plan on national unity proposed by Fatah and the vandalism against the office of *Al Fajr* Arabic daily.

A New Chapter of the Conspiracy

The renewal of clashes between Amal and the Palestinian fighters in Burj al-Barajneh proves that the conspiracy has not been completed. The first round has not achieved their objectives. The 'camps war' gave results that have not been expected by Amal and Syria. It resulted in the unity of all Palestinian factions. The resumption of fighting proves that Amal does not honour its word.

It was natural for Amal, after solving the problem of the hijacked planes, to continue the role drawn to it according to the Syrian-American-Israeli contacts within the framework of the Assad/Murphy agreement.

The new assault should lead this time to unity among the Palestinian leaderships. The Palestinian leaders, who have been deceived by Syrian slogans, should realise that national unity is the only way to fulfil Palestinian aspirations.

AL QUDS
July 4

American Threats

The growing American threats (against Lebanon) indicate that Washington used the hostage crisis as an excuse to continue its aggression against the liberation movement in the area. It is amazing that Reagan did not even direct a word of blame to authorities in whose jurisdiction planes were hijacked or even destroyed. Yet Reagan threatens to impose a blockade against Beirut airport and to mount reprisals against countries in the area. By this token Reagan should have imposed blockade on American airports where hijacking incidents had occurred.

We object to hijackings. But we do not think that this is the consideration taken by Reagan in his campaign of threats. What is worrying Reagan is, indeed, the liberation movement. Ensuring the safety of airliners and passengers can only be achieved through cooperation, not threats.

AL TALIA
July 4

'Rebuilding' the Beirut Camps?

No sooner had the 'Salvation Front' declared the Syrian-Iranian-Libyan project to rebuild the Beirut camps, when Amal started shelling Burj al-Barajneh. This act by Amal sheds more light on the role of the Front... This role is to cover up the crimes of the Syrian regime and Amal's repeated assaults.

It seems this role is taking now the form of that of a full follower. The Front is deeply involved in destroying the camps and removing them under the slogan of 'rebuilding' them.

The Front declared it had received US\$2 million from Libya and a promise from Syria to offer building materials and cement to start work on rebuilding Sabra and Shatila. But the conspiracy was soon uncovered by Amal's shelling of Burj al-Barajneh. Will the Front wait until the camp is destroyed before announcing its intention to rebuild? The Syrian regime ignores the fact that the Palestinian camps everywhere are the centre of intensifying national unity and establishing Palestinian identity. No one outside the PLO can impose his guardianship on the camps. But the Syrian regime is still trying to do just that by all means.

AL FAJR
July 5

Melting in One Pot

The Jordanian monarch declared in a press conference in Aqaba that the Arab position is clear now to the US administration following the King's visit to Washington. He said the results of the American officials' new understanding will appear soon.

The Jordanian-Palestinian agreement undoubtedly lies behind this new development. It proved to the US president that the PLO is serious about its peaceful attitude. The agreement

shows that the two parties to it are aware of the importance of America's role and influence on Israel and that King Hussein is determined to seize this opportunity for peace.

That Hussein's visit to Washington was a success is demonstrated by American recognition for the first time that the Amman agreement created a new situation. Through its consent to start dialogue with a joint delegation, the US has implied to Israel that it recognises the Palestinians as a people. This created confusion and conflict within the Israeli coalition government.

Doesn't the Amman agreement, after its successes, deserve unified Arab support expressed at an Arab summit convened to bless the joint Jordanian-Palestinian move and to authorise it to achieve more political gains for the Palestinian people?

AL QUDS
July 6

The National Unity Initiative

From the beginning of the aggression on the camps, Palestinian national unity was reborn. It was hoped that the aggression would spur Palestinian factions to rebuild their unity at all levels within the PLO. From that moment many calls have been issued for national unity. But we think that Fatah's call based on eight invariables derived from PNC resolutions is of special importance. We don't think that a single Palestinian can deny the importance of these invariables. The call urged the factions to

respond in view of the genocide practised against our people.

AL SHA'AB
July 8

The Moment for Unity Has Arrived

The need for national unity is much more urgent than ever before. There is no longer any time for debate and controversy when Palestinian blood is flowing. In the face of genocide, we cannot but unite to defend ourselves. We have to close ranks to ward off the attempts of those who try to wipe out the very existence of the Palestinians.

Fatah's initiative provides a base for national dialogue. We are waiting for a signal from the other factions that they have risen to the occasion.

AL SHA'AB
July 9

Closure of the Hospice

Since the beginning of its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and other territories, Israel has taken a series of measures and practices that serve its strategic goals.

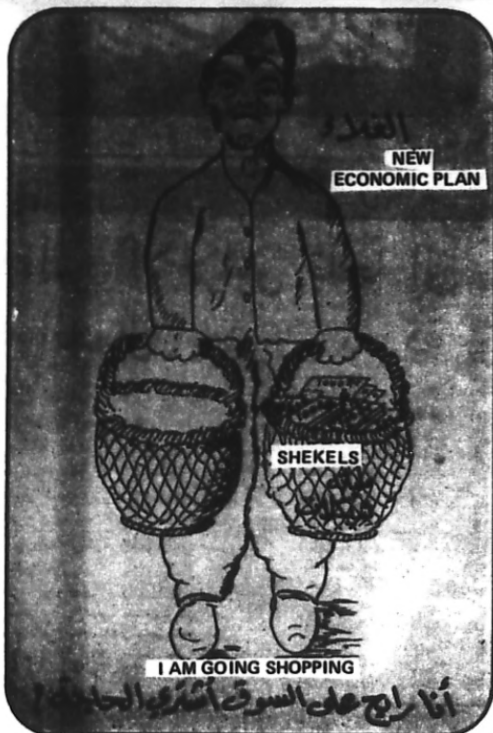
Israel's decision to close the Hospice Hospital in Jerusalem's Old City falls within the context of these Israeli measures and practices. It is not the result of the economic crisis. It aims at obliterating the Arab features of Jerusalem in particular and the occupied territories in general. But Israel will always be confronted by the will of the Palestinian Arab people.

AL MITHAQ
July 9

Insistence on Closing the Hospice

The Israeli Ministry of Health decided to shut down the Hospice hospital despite the Old City residents' urgent need for that hospital which has been serving them for years. The hospital administration has expressed its willingness to implement any development programme suggested by the Ministry and to cover the expenses of the hospital through local and outside donations. Yet the Israeli ministry went ahead with its plans to close the hospital. Great harm will be done to the residents of the Old City. Therefore, the ministry should reconsider its position. It is of no use turning the hospital into an out-patient clinic.

AL FAJR
July 10





Head of French soccer delegation (left) with Fayed Qawasmeh at a Hebron culture exhibit/Nojoom.

French Team Concludes Soccer Visit

A 27-member athletic delegation representing the French Federation for Work wrapped up a 10-day visit to the occupied territories July 7. The bulk of the delegation was a soccer team of 19 players, which played four matches with local teams from Gaza, Hebron, Jerusalem, and Nablus. The delegation, guests of the Hebron Youth Sports Club, toured religious and tourist sites and visited a number of universities and factories throughout the West Bank. The visit aimed at consolidating ties between French workers and their Palestinian counterparts and at enlisting support for the Palestinian cause.

The delegation was enthusiastically received everywhere in the occupied territories. The French team, however, was defeated in three of the four matches. They lost to Gaza, Hittin (Nablus), Al-Hilal (Jerusalem), and beat the Hebron Youth Club. Commentators in the Arabic press noted that soccer lovers had expected a better performance. "It was not up to par," *Al Fajr* Arabic daily sports commentator said.

Mohammed al-Iwaywi, head of the Hebron Youth Sports Club, emphasised the importance of such visits. "They serve our cause in the occupied territories,"

he said.

Contacts between the French and Palestinian sports groups were initiated in 1982. Two French Federation officials visited the West Bank in April 1983 paving the way for the Hebron team's visit to France in October 1983 for several football matches with French teams.

The French Federation, which consists mainly of workers and students, is a sports organisation that encompasses over 4000 French clubs with 350,000 members who practise 40 different sports. It is also a member of the International Labourers Sports Council.

Non-Violence

Continued from page 6

the highest rates of unemployment, lowered real wages, and depressed living standards.

For the 1.3 million Palestinians who live in the occupied territories, military government is a nightmare. Political activity of any kind is prohibited. Possession of arms is a criminal offence for Palestinians, though Jewish settlers may bear arms at all times. The civil rights of Palestinians are subject to the whims of the occupation authorities; they may be arrested without warrant and detained for up to eighteen days of interrogation — and then released, arrested, and detained again. Official policy seems to be to make life so uncomfortable for the Palestinians that they will leave.

Israelis disagree about the final disposition of the occupied territories. Some would extend the occupation indefinitely, some would annex the territories outright and incorporate them into Israel, some on the extreme Right would simply expel the Palestinian population. Only a relatively small segment of the Israeli Left advocates total military withdrawal.

Palestinians, too, are divided about the course of action to be taken. In the West Bank and Gaza, a substantial majority seem to support Arafat and the programme laid down last fall in Amman, but there are others who regard that programme as a sell-out to Israel, Jordan, and the United States. Both sides agree that unless some visible progress is achieved on the diplomatic front within the next few months, violence is likely to flare to new levels in the occupied territories.

Paradoxically, it is this perceived threat of violence that has fuelled talk of nonviolent action. The argument is simple: The only realistic course open to the PLO is to force an Israeli withdrawal by rendering the occupied territories ungovernable; if that is the goal, could it not be better achieved by nonviolent action than by an escalation of violence?

Those Palestinians who favour continuing armed struggle cite the example of Algeria, where protracted civil war won independence after a century of French occupation. The unilateral Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon is adduced as further proof that guerrilla warfare can prevail over superior military force.

But advocates of nonviolence point to Mahatma Gandhi's relentless struggle for Indian independence from the British Empire as a model that is more likely to achieve Palestinian aims while exacting a less drastic human toll.

The cost is likely to be high in any event. Dr Mubarak Awad makes this point in an Arabic-language pamphlet recently circulated in the occupied territories and Israel.

"First, nonviolent struggle is a total and serious struggle, nothing short of real war. There is no assurance that the enemy will be nonviolent. On the contrary, there are great sacrifices that we should expect in the nonviolent struggle. Martyrs and wounded will fall, and Palestinians will suffer personal losses in terms of their interests, jobs, and possessions. Nonviolent struggle is a real war, not an easy alternative."

Still, Awad observes, nonviolent struggle "can neutralise to a large degree the destructive power of the Israeli war machine and enlist in our service, or at least neutralise, important sectors of Israeli society. Such a strategy focuses

and increases any beneficial public international attention to our cause by revealing the racist and expansionist features of the Zionist movement and denying it the justifications built on its purported 'security.' It removes the irrational fear of 'Arab violence' that presently cements Israeli society together..."

Demonstrations, strikes, marches, petitions, roadblocks, even organised mass whistling have long been prominent among the resistance tactics used by Palestinians. But these nonviolent actions have inevitably been overshadowed in the news by incidents of violence. Such incidents are then invoked by Israel to justify repressive measures and to prove to the world that the Palestinians are not prepared to live in peace.

What distinguishes the new interest in nonviolence, as reflected in Awad's tract, is the idea of relying on nonviolence exclusively — an idea that could lend lasting worldwide significance to the struggle in the occupied territories.

Could the PLO — its top leadership, its principal factions — be induced to endorse a programme of nonviolent action? The importance of such an endorsement can hardly be overestimated; it would electrify public opinion around the world, endowing the Palestinian cause with a new measure of legitimacy.

Nonetheless, an open avowal of nonviolence would present the PLO with great difficulties. It would mean reversing decades of rhetoric about the virtues of guerrilla warfare. It might be construed as a slight to the memory of thousands of Palestinian *fedayeen* who laid down their lives for the cause. It might intensify the factional divisions that have already all but crippled the PLO. On the other hand, Palestinian leadership might come to understand a



July 12

Exhibit: Art works by Nabil Anani will be on exhibit at the Nuzha/Hakawati theatre in East Jerusalem through July 14.

Hospice Hospital

Continued from page 1
standards and financial limitation.

The Hospice Friends Committee presented a plan to the Knesset Committee in which they offered to take responsibility for upgrading the hospital by raising funds from charitable organisations. The Knesset Committee rejected the plan. "This can only mean one thing," Taziz told *Al Fajr*. "The closure is politically motivated."

Muhtadi, on the other hand, criticised the representation of the Austrian Church which owns the building where the Hospice is located. The representative had assured him that the church was against the closure, Muhtadi said, but a letter signed by the Austrian representative which the Israeli Health

July 13

Theatre: *Men have heads*, by the al-Rahaleh theatre troupe at the Nuzha/Hakawati Theatre in East Jerusalem at 7:00 pm. Tel. 02-288189.

July 15

Seminar: *Israeli Settler Violence in the Occupied Territories*, sponsored by the Arab Studies Centre and the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. At the Arab Studies Society, Orient House, East Jerusalem 4:00 pm.

Minister showed Muhtadi indicated otherwise.

The Hospice Friends Committee will pursue all legal channels available to try to reverse the decision. They say they will enlist local and international support, they have already initiated contacts with international bodies and with the Israeli press. They plan to hold a press conference in the near future.

Arab residents complain that health services in the Jerusalem area have deteriorated since the Israelis occupied the area in 1967. In late 1960, the Israelis confiscated a building in the Sheikh Jarrah neighbourhood where a central hospital had been planned and converted it into a police headquarters. District health offices, central Arab public clinics and Arab laboratories were closed in 1974. In 1979, the Israelis also closed the Arab chest disease centre and the Arab Blood Bank.

turn toward nonviolence not as a way of abandoning the struggle but of intensifying it in a new form demanded by changing conditions.

Some Israelis have told me that the severity of the police tactics employed in the occupied territories would effectively block any attempt to establish nonviolent resistance. Certainly the occupation authorities would make it difficult to organise large-scale protests and to conduct training in the tactics of nonviolent resistance everywhere, and they can be overcome in the West Bank and Gaza as they have been overcome elsewhere by dedicated and steadfast protesters.

The world peace movement, and particularly the American peace movement, could help institute a system of reliance on nonviolent tactics in the Middle East. There will be a great need for moral and material support, for assistance in spreading the word, perhaps even for direct participation.

To be effective, such efforts should be closely coordinated with the Palestinian leadership, with the Israeli peace movement, and with peace forces in other nations. In the United States, it should involve cooperation among Jewish and Arab organisations and all anti-war groups.

Obviously, many great difficulties would have to be overcome. But think of the consequences if this great undertaking were to succeed: If the corrosive conflict in the Middle East could be resolved by nonviolent means, what dispute anywhere in the world could be deemed so intractable as to require a violent solution?

Frank Collins is a freelance writer based in Washington DC. This article was reprinted from *The Progressive*, July 1986.

WEEKLY REVIEW

July 3, 1985

BEIT HANINA HOUSE LEVELLED

Jerusalem municipality bulldozers demolished the home of Khader Hamdan in Beit Hanina, north of Jerusalem, on the pretext that it was built without a permit. Construction equipment and other tools were confiscated before the two-room house was torn down.

COURT BARS HOUSE DEMOLITION

The Israeli High Court issued an order nisi forbidding the authorities to demolish or close the home of Mohammed Mahmoud al-A'raj in the town of Anabta, in the Tulkarm area. A'raj's son was detained recently on charges of throwing petrol bombs at Israeli vehicles and cutting telephone lines.

TRAVEL BAN ON ISLAMIC U.

Israeli military authorities prevented members of the Islamic University Board of Trustees in Gaza from travelling to Jordan to fetch money for the monthly pay roll.

QOUSSEIN SUBMITS APPEAL TO OBJECTIONS COMMITTEE

Residents of the village of Qousin loc. submitted an appeal to the Israeli Military Objections Committee against the authorities to confiscate thousands of dunums from the village.

July 4, 1985

JENIN WOMEN PICKET RED CROSS OFFICES

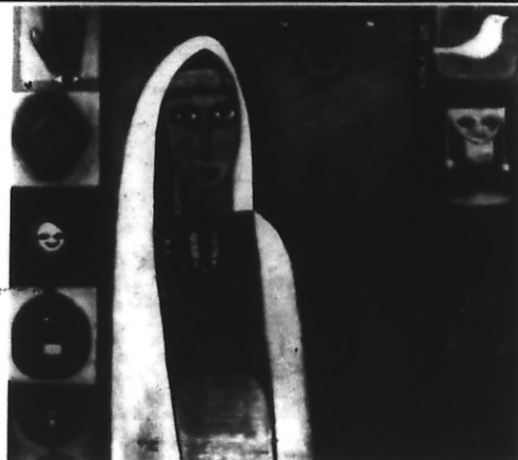
Palestinian women in Jenin staged a sit-in strike at the Red Cross offices in the city to protest massacres in Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut. The women condemned Syria for its role in the siege, condemned the Damascus agreement and rejected attempts to disarm the refugee camps.

EX-PRISONERS WANT TO COMPLETE STUDIES IN EGYPT

Palestinian security prisoners from the Gaza Strip who were freed under the recent prisoner exchange between Israel and the PFLP-GC have appealed to various institutions and societies to intervene with Israel on their behalf so they can go to Egypt to continue their studies. Most of the ex-prisoners had been accepted by Egyptian universities before they were imprisoned.

SETTLERS INTIMIDATE VILLAGERS NEAR RAMALLAH

Jewish settlers have resumed their campaign of harassment and provocation against residents of the village of Deir Abu Masha', west of Ramallah, by firing shots in the night and banging on doors. Villagers say the Israelis have been attempting to seize about 1500 dunums of their land.



Halhoul-born artist Nabih Anani is currently holding an exhibit of over 30 of his latest acrylics and oils on canvas in the Nuzha al-Hakawati theatre in East Jerusalem. Anani, whose style is predominantly traditional folk, also included 15 sketches by his nine-year-old son Yazid in the exhibit.

Anani has been active in the Palestinian art scene since his graduation from Alexandria Fine Arts College in 1969. He now heads the League of Palestinian Artists.

Anani paints Palestinian villages, massacres and martyrs among other things. The Palestinian village woman is often the focus of his pictures. His colours are mainly those of Palestinian village embroidery and his style is highly romantic. The exhibit ends July 14.

July 5, 1985

GALILEE YOUTHS GET STIFF SENTENCES

Five Palestinian youths from the Galilee village of Kufr Kanna have been sentenced to lengthy prison terms on charges of hurling a petrol bomb at an Israeli military vehicle. No injuries or damages resulted from the incident, which took place about 3 months ago.

Ghassan Taha, 19, was sentenced to 12 years in jail, 8 of them suspended; Amin Mustafa, 16, to 8 years in prison, 4 of them suspended; Hassan Mustafa, 16, to 2 years; and Said Mustafa, 15, to 1.5 years. They have appealed against the stiff sentences.

SETTLER ARRESTED FOR WEAPONS

A Jewish settler from Eliezer settlement near Bethlehem was remanded into police custody for 10 days in the Jerusalem Magistrates Court on charges of possessing a large quantity of explosives and ammunition. Police told the court that they suspected the weapons had been stolen from Israeli army bases. Leaflets belonging to Meir Kahane's racist Kach movement were also found in the settler's possession.

SETTLERS STORM HEBRON HOUSE

A group of Jewish settlers from the Tel-Rumeida plot in Hebron raided the home of the Abu Heikal family, and prevented family members from entering. The house was empty at the time of the raid because the family was attending a wedding.

July 7, 1985

MOLOTOV COCKTAILS IN NABLUS

The Hebrew daily *Hadashot* reported that two Molotov cocktails were thrown at a settlement school near Joseph's Tomb in Nablus. There were no casualties reported.

PETROL BOMB IN GAZA

A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli army vehicle in al-Amal quarter in Khan Younis. Israeli soldiers made a number of arrests.

NEW CLINIC FOR AZZOUN

The concerned Israeli authorities approved a request from the village council of Azzoun, in the Tulkarm area, to build a new clinic in the village at a cost of JD20,000.

LIFE, STIFF SENTENCES FOR GAZANS

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced three men to life in prison: Ali Ahmad Ima'li Abu Na'ir, 24, from Bani Suhalla; Mohammed Mahmoud Abu Jameh, 35, from Bani Suhalla; and Mohammed Zayed Abu Shab, 28. The court also sentenced Masalam Mohammed Abu Na'ir, 28, to 20 years; Rajab Abdallah Abu Na'ir, 25, to 12 years; and Mohammed Radwan Abu Na'ira, 35, to 17 years. They were charged with membership in a Palestinian organisation, killing a number of people, and throwing a bomb at an Israeli bus in Tel Aviv.

The court also sentenced

Ibrahim Khalil an-Anqab, 18, Jamal Muti' Yusuf Dardoneh, 19, and Nafez Rabi' an-Najjar, 22 — all from Jabalya al-Balad — to 2.5 years each for membership

BILAL MOSQUE DEMOLISHED

Israeli authorities demolished Bilal Ibn Rabah Mosque in Rafah on June 27.

JORDAN RELEASES 3 VILLAGE LEAGUES

Israel Radio reported that the former head of Beit Amin local council and two members of the council who had been sentenced to life imprisonment in Jordan were released and returned to the West Bank. The three had been sentenced for selling land and joining the Village Leagues.

July 8, 1985

2 JABALYA RESIDENTS SENTENCED

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Fahmi al-Sharai to 7 years in prison and Salameh al-Sha'rawi to 3 years in prison on charges of membership in an illegal organisation, possession of weapons, and hurling bombs at Israeli military vehicles. The two are residents of Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip.

5 YEARS FOR PETROL BOMB

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Mahmoud Abu Harb and Khaled Sa'id Kayed each to 5 years in jail and 3 years suspended on charges of throwing a petrol bomb at al-Fara'a prison near Jenin.



THE COURAGE TO CARE

Over half of the four million Palestinians are registered refugees, with as many as 764,000 still living in 61 refugee camps dispersed throughout the Middle East. Political issues aside, these forgotten, homeless, and dispossessed Palestinians—men, women and children, need your urgent support.

United Palestinian Appeal, Inc. is taking the lead in helping to alleviate the suffering and pain of these people by providing them with adequate health care, housing, education and other social and humanitarian services.

We appeal to you to help us achieve these goals. Your investment, no matter how modest, in alleviating human suffering, is never too little or too late.

You Can Make A Difference

Send your tax-deductible contributions to:
United Palestinian Appeal, Inc. • 2100 M St., NW, Suite 409
Washington, DC 20037 • (202) 659-5007

Enclosed please find my contribution of: ☐ \$15 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$250 ☐ \$1000
Other: _____
Please place my gift for:
☐ Health Care and Services
☐ Community Development
☐ Educational Projects
☐ Whenever the need is greatest

UPI is a non-profit, independent, American-based, tax-exempt charitable organization established since 1980 to extend humanitarian relief to the Palestinians in the occupied territories and the diaspora.

July 9, 1985

GAZANS GET STIFF SENTENCES FOR GRENADE ATTACKS

An Israeli military court in Gaza gave three men from the Gaza Strip stiff sentences ranging

from 15 to 25 years imprisonment on charges of carrying out a number of grenade attacks on Israeli targets. Kamal Abd al-Nabi, 26, from Jabalya refugee camp, was sentenced to 25 years in prison. Ali Mohammed Ibrahim, 27, to 15 years, and Abd al-Fattah Riham, 27, to 25 years. The three were also charged with membership in a Palestinian organisation.

JENIN MILITARY HQ FIREBOMBED

A petrol bomb was thrown at the Israeli military headquarters in Jenin. Israel Radio said no injuries or damages were caused by the attack.

NAJAH STUDENTS HONOUR FREED PRISONERS

The Youth Movement at

an-Najah University in Nablus held an honorary ceremony for Palestinian security prisoners released in the recent prisoner swap between Israel and the PFLP-GC.

2 NABLUS KIDS JAILED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Jamal al-Ramahi and Adel al-Zaghoul, both aged 14, to 3 weeks in

prison, 6 months suspended and a \$1850,000 fine on "security charges."

KUFR YASIF YOUTH JAILED FOR ARMS

An Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced Nimer Khatib, 22, from Kufr Yasif in the Galilee region, to 2 years in prison and a similar suspended sentence on charges of possessing weapons.

Palestinian Christians

Continued from page 7

don't particularly seem to want or repay their allegiance is to assert Palestinian (or Arab) identity over their Christian one.

Most Christians who chose to assert their Arabic identity stress cultural and political affiliation at the expense of religious. Christianity is too deeply rooted in the Holy Land to disappear, but it is quite possible that the future may relegate it only the role of a relatively insignificant ethnic marker for a portion of the Palestinian people.

There is little question that the lay of the Holy Land has been changed radically by the creation of the State of Israel and its '67 appropriation of Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank. Prior to this, local Christians had a part in presenting the holy places and were able to benefit collectively from the influx of pilgrims through the provision of guides, housing, souvenirs and services. Visitors did come to see sites rather than communities, but the communities were nonetheless able to, to some degree, present themselves to the visitors. More significantly, if they were not well presented as functioning Christian communities in the land where Christianity originated, at least they were not grossly misrepresented. The subsequent imposition of a vocabulary of barbarism, fanaticism and terrorism on these people by Zionist propagandists and Christian fellow travellers is a great injustice, but not so great an injustice as are the land expropriations, illegal imprisonments and deportations masked by that vocabulary. For the clergy of the foreign churches who see this going on around

them to remain silent in the face of it is a criminal act qualitatively similar to their silence in the face of the Nazi genocide against the Jews, Poles and Russians. To assist in it is worse.

History, however, has its own logic in which justice sometimes plays a part. The Palestinian people may be condemned by Zionism to live as third class citizens, refugees and worse, but as they are crushed they will succeed in rendering the presence of the foreign churches in their land meaningless. A Christian clergy in the land of Christianity's origins which has no other role than that of pointing to monuments of its past glories would be laughable if it were not tragic. If the foreign churches are to assume a role in this land it must be that of maintaining and perpetuating the Christian communities here. After all, to point to the Holy Sepulchre is to point to an old building whereas to point to local Christians worshipping in the Holy Sepulchre is to give testimony to the historical power of the Living Word of Jesus.

The Palestinian people do not want to be silent anymore — cannot afford to be silent anymore — because every day they are not heard and their situation is not recognised represents more lands lost, more sons and daughters jailed, more leaders deported or murdered. These people cannot make themselves heard, however, in part because they have been gagged by Zionist media manipulation and in part because the rest of the world simply doesn't want to listen. If church leaders want to help, both as fellow Christians and as fellow human beings, they must strive to speak for these people, to make visible what has been plunged into invisibility.

Part of this work can be done here on the ground. One of the consequences of the Israeli takeover of Jerusalem is that the Palestinians have in large part

been separated from the pilgrims. The difficulty in finding a local Christian to guide pilgrims and tourists is immense because the Israelis do not train Palestinians as tour guides (only two have been licensed since '67) and will only allow small numbers of specially licensed groups to travel without Israeli guides. Older guides who have been allowed, because of international laws governing occupied territories, to retain the licences earned under Jordanian rule are timorous and frightened to talk of the situation of the Palestinian communities. One who did, two weeks ago, was deprived of his licence (and his family's income) for three months because, according to the Ministry of Tourism, he "showed a lack of knowledge of the history of the Jewish people in the land of Israel and slandered the state" (*The Jerusalem Post*, February 3, 1985). The reiterated warnings of Israeli guides against talking to (or believing) Palestinian shopkeepers under one of the few remaining channels of communication between local and visiting populations. Israeli commercialisation and politicisation of the pilgrimage and tourism industries insures that visitors remain insulated within their tours and air-conditioned buses from all but a carefully orchestrated presentation of the land and its peoples.

It may be possible to puncture that insulation by bringing together visiting and local groups for discussions about conditions of life and mutual perceptions. Jewish visitors to the land are encouraged to dine with Jews who reside here and, in fact, one of the programmes of the Christian Embassy during the Feast of Tabernacles was to have Christians visit with Israeli families. Palestinian multi-lingualism prevents language from being an impediment to such meetings; the only real barrier preventing dialogues between Palestinians and pilgrims is a lack of incentive

on the part of the latter. Foreign Christians have been fed a steady media diet of "Palestinian terrorists" for the past two decades, and the last thing a visitor to this land wants to meet is a person who may well be hiding a Kalashnikov or a grenade in his clothing. Furthermore, unlike the Jews who come to see co-religionists dwelling in the land, Christians for the most part come to see specific monuments on the land. To be interested in meeting local Christians they have first of all to know of their existence and after that to learn that they are decent, worthy and long-suffering people who deserve to be known rather than avoided. That information has to be given to people before they come here. It has, in fact, to be disseminated widely in order to counterbalance the dominant media image of the Palestinians. This is the primary task for the churches who maintain a presence in the Holy Land; they must draw the attention of the wider world to the situation of Palestinian Christians in Israel and of Palestinians in general.

It will be a hard struggle and, for a long while, a struggle unappreciated in the West. It is difficult to even know what the results will be; that depends very much on the fate of the Palestinian Christians and the future of the state of Israel. It is not difficult, however, to know the results of not taking up the good fight. An international Christianity which fails to succour the Christians of the Holy Land will have for its central shoppieces "white washed tombs, which outwardly appear beautiful but within... are full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness."

Glen Bowman is a social anthropologist from Oxford University who is currently writing a book about Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land.

Women

Continued from page 8&9

cial Committee of Experts, the insufficient number of hospital beds,* the high cost of hospitalisation,** antiquated diagnostic equipment, old buildings experiencing problems with electricity, heating and laundry facilities, and a shortage of essential medical equipment, staff and drugs remain serious obstacles to health protection. Although they affect the population as a whole, health conditions have greater significance for women, who bear and rear the children and look after the health and nutrition of the family. There is also a higher percentage of adult women than of men in the occupied territories.

(a) Curative and preventive medical care services: Preventive and curative medical care — both in-patient and out-patient — and dental services comprise an important part of the UNRWA health programme for Palestinian refugee women and children....

Other hospital and specialist services are subsidised by government, university and private health institutions. With the changing demography of the refugee population, there is now a higher incidence of degenerative diseases, notably diabetes mellitus. A recent sur-

vey shows that this incidence is highest among middle-aged women who have borne more than one child. UNRWA is strengthening its specialist clinics to improve the diabetic service....

(b) Maternal and child health centres: UNRWA provides maternal and child health services — pre-natal, natal and infant and child care — at its health units, supported by specialist and hospital referral services. In 1983/84 the Gaza Strip had six maternity wards attached to the UNRWA health centres; 28 percent of the deliveries took place in these facilities, 48 percent in the two government hospitals and 24 percent at home, usually with the aid of traditional birth attendants. On the West Bank, 70 percent of the refugee children were delivered in hospitals and camp maternity centres and 30 percent were born at home....

(c) Health conditions in camps: The extremely harsh life and poor health conditions in the refugee camps make their residents especially vulnerable to diseases and infections. Most of the camps have no covered water-supply systems, the sewers are open and the toilets for common use are few in number and unsanitary....

(d) Environmental sanitation and housing: Insufficient water supply, pollution of the drinking water, low stan-

dards of housing, sewage and waste disposal and the presence of rats remain the essential problems of environmental health in the occupied territories. Gastroenteritis, linked to environmental sanitation and community behaviour, continues to be a public health problem.

Some 20 percent of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories live in housing units with a density of 3 persons to a room, and for approximately 50 percent of the population the average family household consists of 7 or more members. Although electrical and plumbing facilities and the availability of running water have improved over the years, in some areas these basic services are inadequate. The housing problem is particularly difficult for women in the low-income categories, who are in need of adequate space and sanitary and cooking facilities to take proper care of their children and families.

The occupying authorities have not taken any measures to help lower-income groups of the local population to acquire adequate housing. Absence of construction to replace substandard housing, restrictive practices as regards permits for private, public or municipal constructions and the transfer of funds from abroad have prevented Palestinian communities from improving the municipal services or providing new housing

facilities....

(e) Women's organisations: Palestinian women's organisations date back as far as 1972. They have developed relief programmes, shelters for disabled persons, educational programmes for poor children, health and literacy centres, workshops, and mother and child care units. They have also developed self-reliance, vocational training and income-generating programmes for women, relief programmes for refugees and committees for the preservation of heritage and culture. The broad spectrum of social activities undertaken by the contemporary Palestinian women's organisations are aimed at raising the living conditions and status of women in particular and of the Palestinian community in general....

* In the Gaza Strip the number of hospital beds decreased from 1,000 in 1974 to 904 in 1981; on the West Bank it remained at 1,393 (Statistical Abstract of Israel, p. 777).

** The increase in the daily charge for hospital accommodation places the hospitals in an inferior position to units of the same level in Israel and neighbouring countries (WHO document A/87/13, p.8).

A Shattered Shatila Picks Up the Pieces



For almost a month during fighting between Palestinians and Lebanese militias, UNRWA was unable to provide regular services to Palestine refugees living in Shatila camp in Beirut. Thousands of residents fled from the camp but several hundred remained throughout the battle.

The first convoy from UNRWA arrived on June 23 with 10 tons of flour and 400 packs of food rations. Later convoys brought more food, medical supplies, bread and sanitation equipment.

UNRWA officials reported severe damage to refugee housing and UNRWA installations in the camp.

During the fighting, over 28,000 refugees fled from Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh camps and from other refugee areas of West Beirut. UNRWA provided food, medical care and sanitation services to the thousands who fled to other areas of Beirut and organized emergency food distributions to the refugees who fled to Sidon, Tyre, Tripoli and Ba'albek. UNRWA Photos.

